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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RESIDENT CHARACTERISTICS OF SIX URBAN FRINGE
COMMUNITIES IN THE EDMONTON REGION

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the people who reside in Edmonton's fringe communities. An attempt was also made to determine whether their attitudes and behaviors with respect to community related issues were systematically related to a number of variables commonly cited in the literature. Essentially this was an exploratory study and no formal hypotheses were developed. Six communities were selected from within a 48 kilometer radius of Edmonton and a survey questionnaire administered to a random sample taken from telephone directories.

Profile data revealed that all six communities had experienced accelerated growth during the past five years. A large majority of the respondents were young, married, and with children under the age of eighteen still living at home. Practically all were occupying single family (detached) dwellings; less than half had occupied this type of accommodation immediately prior to locating in their present community. Socioeconomically, the total sample approximates what sociologists choose to call the 'lower-middle class', although one community was significantly atypical in this regard. There were also strong similarities between the respondents of these communities and those described in the literature as 'suburbanites'; they were found to be largely of British or European ancestry, English speaking, and Protestant. Approximately half of the respondents commuted daily to work in Edmonton. Most were salaried/wage earners; a large proportion worked in trade or technical occupations. The communities themselves were characterized by most respondents as either suburbs or dormitory towns.

Multiple regression procedures were employed in order to determine the extent to which community-related attitudes and behaviors were systematically related to a series of indicator variables commonly cited in the literature. The regression models, with stepwise inclusions of all considered indicators, consistently showed a high proportion of unexplained variation. Nevertheless, several of these indicators were found to be significantly related to the criterion variables at greater than the .05 level. The regression procedure presented a hierarchical ranking of those indicators which explained the highest proportion of variation. Length of residence in the community was found to account for a large proportion of explained variation throughout the analyses; commuter status (whether people worked locally or commuted to jobs outside the community) and prior accommodation were also found to be significantly related to several attitudes and behaviors. Age of respondents emerged as an intervening variable in some areas of concern.

Some of the findings tend to support the literature, particularly with respect to length of residence in the community, commuter status, and socioeconomic status differentials. However, the data generally suggest that none of the indicators cited in the literature and employed in this study are extensively involved in the Edmonton experience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The urban fringe, and communities that lie within it, have engaged the interest of social scientists throughout the industrialized regions of the Western world since the early decades of this century. Urban fringe growth is commonly associated with the provision of residential accommodation and the phenomenon of commuting to work.

Researchers have sought to understand why people choose to live at the fringe in preference to the central city and how they react to their community environment when they get there. Sociologists and geographers have also attempted to explain the often unique morphological features of the urban fringe. Overwhelmingly, urban fringe communities have been viewed in terms of their social organization and their social and economic relationship with the adjacent city.

Edmonton's metropolitan region has grown rapidly during the past decade; an increasing amount of this growth is taking place outside the City's corporate limits. Many pre-existent rural communities that lie within the region have begun to expand in response to the demand for housing in the Edmonton area. The emerging spatial organization is thus one of disaggregated residential settlements within commuting range of the city. It is obvious that there is a close interdependence between the metropolitan center and these regional communities. While not all of this fringe growth is a direct result of out-migration from the central city, it is clear that Edmonton is the chief source of employment and a major supplier of goods and services.

The spatial and economic aspects of Edmonton's regional population

growth have received some attention in recent years, but little is presently known about the people who live in the area. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the type of housing being built and from the generally weak retail and service facilities found in most of Edmonton's fringe communities. Nevertheless, there is a perceived need to learn more about the socioeconomic characteristics of this expanding population. Moreover, it may be fruitful to obtain some understanding of their attitudes and behaviors toward their local social and physical environments. Such information could conceivably aid planners in selecting strategy alternatives for long range regional development.

Objectives of the Study

A continuing source of sociological debate in North America is the nonlegal distinction between urban fringe communities and suburbs. This thesis represents a study of the people who live in six communities that lie within Edmonton's metropolitan region. These communities are defined here as 'urban fringe' settlements, rather than suburbs. Suggested distinctions between the two are discussed in the following chapter.

The objectives of this study are two-fold. The first is to construct a socioeconomic and demographic profile of residents sampled from the six communities. These characteristics will be discussed at both the individual community and total sample levels. Tests of statistical significance will be employed among several variables in order to determine whether predictable relationships exist. Several demographic statistics have been obtained from Edmonton Regional Planning Commission sources.

The second major objective is to examine attitudes and behaviors of these residents with respect to their social and physical environments.

The related sociological literature suggests that five broad aspects of urban fringe settlement are amenable to empirical examination:

1. Locational motivation
2. Attitudes toward the local man-made environment
3. Concern for the local community
4. Local community involvement
5. Residential satisfaction

Several operational indicators of these aspects have been developed and will be incorporated into the analytical procedures as dependent variables.

There is evidence that attitudes and behaviors related to urban fringe community settlement are mediated by several spatial and socio-economic factors. Six emerge from the literature:

1. Socioeconomics status
2. Age
3. Parent status
4. Length of residence in the community
5. Commuter status
6. Prior accommodation

This thesis will investigate the extent to which these factors are systematically related to attitudes and behaviors associated with the five areas of concern. All will be utilized as independent variables. Multiple regression techniques will determine the strengths of these relationships, while at the same time identifying those variables that account for the greatest proportion of explained variation within each operational indicator.

Empirical Methodology

The empirical data to support this study was obtained from a survey questionnaire administered in the fall of 1977 to the residents of six communities lying within a 50 kilometer radius of Edmonton. All are dis-contiguous in relation to the City; five of the six are incorporated villages and towns. Populations range from 231 to over 26,000. All but one of the communities existed prior to 1960; most are former rural/service/trade centers that primarily served the needs of surrounding agricultural districts before coming within Edmonton's zone of influence. It was felt that a multiple community sample would permit comparative descriptive analysis and also reduce the risk of sampling bias, thus permitting a more reliable extrapolation from the data. The Edmonton metropolitan region was selected for this study on the grounds that little empirical sociological research has been documented in this area to date.

Limitations of the Study

The Independent Variables

The six independent variables employed in the analytical procedures were selected on the basis of empirical research conducted largely in the United States and Great Britain. Whether they can be considered appropriate indicators in the context of this study is open to question. Race was not utilized as an independent variable here, since Edmonton's fringe population appears to be overwhelmingly comprised of white Caucasians.

The Sampling Frame

The fact that a high proportion of residential accommodation in the six sample communities takes the form of single family dwellings indicates that in-migration is rather selective. The Canadian experience dictates that minimum qualifying income levels must be higher for the purchase of a

single/detached home than for the rental or purchase of multiple family units. It may be suspected, therefore, that residents of these communities will be fairly homogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status. If this is the case, the usefulness of socioeconomic status as an indicator variable may be compromised.

The Socioeconomic Status Scale

Apart from the troublesome possibility that the various indices of socioeconomic status may not measure the same phenomena, an index comprised of education, occupation, and income scores does not adequately account for retired or unemployed persons. The former may receive low pensions, but possess extensive assets; the latter may normally enjoy high incomes, but not while unemployed. Several procedures were employed to control these factors and will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The Geographic Area

From the standpoint of their spatial characteristics, Canadian prairie cities are somewhat distinct. Unlike the older and more densely populated areas of Canada, the United States, and Europe, they tend to possess well defined boundaries. Residential overspills in prairie cities have gravitated towards pre-existent rural communities that lie within commuting range rather than to 'new' towns and suburbs outside metropolitan corporate boundaries. Consequently, this study makes no attempt to represent metropolitan region population characteristics at large. Rather, it is an attempt to identify one form of this phenomenon; at best, its findings may be extrapolated to other regional community systems of this type.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Population growth in what is commonly referred to as the 'urban fringe' is not a recent phenomenon. In the Western world it coincided with the Industrial Revolution and the advent of railway transportation. However, since the Second World War, rising standards of living, especially among the lower-middle class and 'blue collar' strata, have joined forces with the automobile to bring about a high degree of residential disaggregation in many urban industrial centers.

The urban fringe and urban fringe communities have received considerable attention in the literature, although not nearly so much as the concept of 'suburbia'. Sociologists, geographers, psychologists, and social anthropologists have all found the fringe and the people who live in it a fruitful avenue of research. No less prolific have been the euphemisms employed to describe the unit of analysis. Pahl has described them as 'commuter villages', while others, such as Zimmerman and Moneo, Masser and Stroud, and Spectorsky, have referred to them as 'subordinate villages', 'metropolitan villages', and 'exurbs', respectively.¹

However labelled, all demonstrate one common characteristic: they all lie within what Sinclair and Westhues choose to call the 'zone of

¹ R.E. Pahl, "Class and Community in English Commuter Villages," *Sociologia Ruralis* 5 (1965), pp. 4-23; Carle C. Zimmerman and Garry W. Moneo, *The Prairie Community System* (Ottawa: A.E.R.C., 1971), p. 15; F.I. Masser and D.C. Stroud, "The Metropolitan Village", *Town Planning Review* 36 (1965), pp. 111-124; A.C. Spectorsky, *The Exurbanite* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1955).

invasion'; in other words, they have all developed a social and economic relationship with an adjacent metropolitan center.¹ It is a functional relationship, usually taking the form of providing accommodation for those who work in the city. Conversely, the city often becomes the major source of employment for those who are native to the fringe community. This is not always a process by design, nor is it necessarily embraced by all those who live there. Many formerly autonomous rural service/trade centers have become dormitories by default; city populations have overspilled their corporate boundaries, central city homes have become too expensive, or social disorganization has forced individuals and families to select the suburbs and fringe communities as an alternative to central city living. In effect, these types of communities have become a hybrid form of suburbia; both residential forms are popularly viewed as being synonymous with commuting to work, although in fact this is not an exclusive association. Like the suburbs, a significant proportion of fringe communities develop an industrial core; occasionally this process works in reverse, with the industrial core fostering a residential community.

Why Study the Fringe Community?

Rapidly spreading metropolitan zones of invasion have alarmed those who are concerned with preserving the rural hinterland in a recognizable state. Small communities, once buried safely within the agricultural sector, have often found themselves faced with fiscal and social problems as a result of largely unplanned growth. Highway construction, while ameliorating the difficulties of commuting over large distances, has tended

¹ Peter R. Sinclair and Kenneth Westhues, Village in Crisis (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), p. 5.

to further complicate growth problems in the fringe community. The steadily widening commuter radius of metropolitan areas is well documented in Canada in the Sinclair and Westhues study of "Fringetown", a small community lying over 80 kilometers away from Toronto.¹ While the authors acknowledge that this is (in 1973) beyond normal commuting range, 'the community can nevertheless be considered as being on the fringe of Toronto'.

Concomitant with rapidly expanding commuter radii have been the problems of farm land being priced out of agriculture by speculation and the encroachment of urban blight into the countryside. Moreover, many fringe communities have found themselves poorly equipped to handle increased population growth; while residents alike complain of inadequate municipal services, taxes and land prices rise accordingly. A common characteristic of actively developing urban fringe communities is the almost exclusive construction of single family dwellings. This, in fact, is usually the *raison d'etre* of fringe settlement, a fact acknowledged in suburban growth but often ignored at the fringe. It also often represents a simultaneous cause and effect phenomenon. An increasing number of urbanites are subordinating higher transportation costs to the chance of owning a home, particularly a single family dwelling, for the first time. Others, who enjoy what Pahl calls 'choice as a way of life',² elect to live in the fringe community for the purpose of achieving a pseudo rural or 'non urban' life-style. Although psychologically and socioeconomically disparate, these factors have encouraged development that is overwhelmingly residential and noticeably lacking in commercial and industrial support. Resulting weak

¹ Ibid.

² R.E. Pahl, "The Rural-Urban Continuum," Sociologia Ruralis 6 (1966), pp. 306-307.

tax bases have inflated residential construction costs and placed severe constraints upon the provision of services that urbanites typically demand.

Value conflicts are also a common feature of fringe community social interrelationships. Depending upon locality, they arise as a result of the clash of incompatible lifestyles when in-migrating populations attempt to press their values and attitudes upon those who are indigenous to the community. Friction can also develop between socioeconomic strata, regardless of commuter status, over issues that reflect social backgrounds. Theoretical and empirical approaches to these phenomena will be discussed in a subsequent section. Coupled with the more obvious morphological problems, planners and other 'social engineers' have been faced with conflicting explanations for these and other related problems of fringe community growth. Most explanations have been what might be loosely described as deductive: they have taken existing relationships, whether social or ecological, as a point of departure, and in reverse temporal sequence have predicted 'A' from the outcome of 'B'.

Defining the Urban Fringe

From the point of definition, both the urban fringe and the urban fringe community have received attention in the literature, and both have been viewed in sociological, economic, and territorial terms. The fringe concept appears to have been developed initially by Smith in 1948,¹ although Martin has utilized it extensively during the past two decades.²

¹ Thomas Lynn Smith, Population Analysis 1st edition. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948), Chapter two.

² Walter T. Martin, The Rural-Urban Fringe (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1953).

At the areal level it is generally considered to be a zone of transition lying beyond the corporate boundaries of an urban place. While the inner limits are fairly well defined in a legal sense, the outer edge of a fringe zone tends to be more obtuse and dynamic, encroaching steadily into the rural hinterland. This trend has been particularly noticeable in the Edmonton experience, and even more so in regions where the process has been going on for much longer. There, the fringe zone has become indistinct as former fringe communities have coalesced into large conurbations.

For the purposes of the 1961, 1966, and 1971 censuses, Statistics Canada has defined the fringe as:

"Part of a census metropolitan area or of a census agglomeration outside the urbanized core. It corresponds to the immediate zone of influence of a multi-municipal urban center. The concept of fringe is more restrictive in census agglomeration (CA), than in census metropolitan area (CMA) (in a CA, the fringe is composed of the remainder of municipalities having a part in the urbanized core while in a CMA, the fringe comprises all municipalities within a 20-mile radius of the urbanized core which meet established criteria related to the structure of the labor force and the population increase). In some cases, there is no fringe (e.g., Calgary CMA, Carbonear, Campbellton and Sherbrooke CA's).¹

While this definition is precise from a legal standpoint, it is of limited utility in empirical research related to human characteristics.

Martin points to the fact that the urban fringe can be a unique phenomenon to the observer. To the entrepreneur it is an area to be exploited; to planners it is an area of conflicting land use and rapid population growth. The sociologist accepts all these references:

"He sees a new phase in the urbanization process, a dynamic expansion in the number of persons that set themselves apart residentially from the urban center to which they are bound by economic interdependence, social interrelationships, and

¹ Statistics Canada, 1971. Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, Catalogue 12-540, December 1972, p. 50.

cultural ties and sentiments. He sees an area of unmeasured forces and obscure patternings.¹

Many of these forces still remain unmeasured.

Geographers can afford to take a more pragmatic approach to the urban fringe concept than sociologists. Hassbring, representing the former, considers the rural-urban fringe zone surrounding Edmonton to be 'an area of mixed rural and urban land uses undergoing transition from rural to urban character, extending from the edge of the continuously built-up urban area, to an area in which agricultural land uses predominate'.² Subsumed within this area are both incorporated and unincorporated places. Hassbring also feels that the heterogeneous nature of land use at the fringe has necessarily produced a similar occupational structure. The contiguity of urban development at the inner boundary has produced population densities that are considerably higher than the outlying rural hinterland. One of the first geographers to describe the urban fringe phenomenon was Wehrwein, who recognized that the 'built-up' city is not necessarily coterminous with the political city.³ In many cases the economic and sociological city--the area within which people live the urban way of life--has extended far beyond the city limits. Conversely, the farms upon which people live the rural way of life are found frequently within the political boundaries of cities. Essentially, however, geographers have addressed themselves to the issues of 'place' rather than of the human interrelationships that exist

¹ Walter T. Martin, Op. Cit., p. 1.

² Margareta Hassbring, "Land Use Diversity in the Rural-Urban Fringe Zone of Edmonton," Albertan Geographer 6 (1970), pp. 59-64.

³ George S. Wehrwein, "The Rural-Urban Fringe," Economic Geography 18 (1942), pp. 217-228.

within it. Sociologists profess to be concerned with the fringe as a way of life, although a surprising number of papers have declared this intention and then proceeded to offer a purely ecological definition of the fringe concept.

Jaco and Belknap, Kurtz and Smith, and others, have attempted to demonstrate an emergent social organization that is peculiar to spatial patterns of residence at the fringe.¹ Others, such as Lively, et al., have discussed several hypotheses that posit a hybrid lifestyle arising from the overlapping of rural and urban environments.² More drastically, Firey describes the urban fringe as an 'institutional desert'.³ Warning that the concepts of 'fringe' and 'suburb' are often applied imprecisely, Kurtz and Eicher point to numerous definitions based upon census criteria, which implicitly assume that political boundaries coincide with social boundaries.⁴ They suggest four alternative criteria for the purpose of specifying a distinction: location, land characteristics, growth and density, occupation, and governmental structure. Unfortunately, the authors fail to distinguish between the urban fringe area and the urban fringe community, with the result that most of the latter come to be discussed as suburbs. In their definition of 'fringe' as an area, Jaco and Belknap include any territory located outside the central city whose labor force is not engaged

¹ E. Gartley Jaco and Ivan Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?" American Sociological Review 18 (1953), pp. 551-557; Richard A. Kurtz and Joel Smith, "Social Life in the Rural-Urban Fringe," Rural Sociology 26 (1961), pp. 24-38.

² Charles E. Lively, et. al., "The Sociological Significance of the Rural-Urban Fringe," Rural Sociology 18 (1953), pp. 101-120.

³ W.I. Firey, "Ecological considerations in Planning for Rurban Fringes," American Sociological Review 2 (1946), pp. 411-421.

⁴ Richard A. Kurtz and Joanne B. Eicher, "Fringe and Suburb: A Confusion of Concepts," Social Forces 37 (1958), pp. 32-37.

in agricultural activities.¹ It is obvious that they do not consider territorial and social boundaries as coincident. However, by treating suburbs and the fringe as social analogies they may be approximating reality to a more practical degree than their critics. Even the most superficial examination of the typical urban fringe area reveals that it differs very little in its social organization from that of the city.

Ford and Sutton appear to confirm this in a study that distilled twelve suggested concepts of 'fringe' and found that it is overwhelmingly defined in terms of location and land use, rather than social interrelationships.² Moreover, Kurtz and Smith found that the fringe was not perceived by sample residents as a unique type of residence area. More than two-thirds of their respondents could not even provide a local name for the area under study while one-third felt that the fringe was merely part of a larger area.³

More recently the urban fringe has been viewed by sociologists as a cultural continuum. This is a significant break from the conceptualized rural-urban dichotomy of Tonnies and perpetuated by those of the early Chicago School.⁴ Pahl is sceptical of this notion in any social-spatial sense, suggesting that it is possible to distinguish not only several continua in different dimensions, but also sharp discontinuities between

¹ E. Gartley Jaco and Ivan Belknap. Op. Cit., p. 551.

² Thomas R. Ford and Willis A. Sutton, Jr., "The Impact of Change on Rural Communities and Fringe Areas: Review of a Decade's Research," in Our Changing Rural Society, Editor, James Copp (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1964), pp. 198-225.

³ Richard A. Kurtz and Joel Smith, Op. Cit., p. 29.

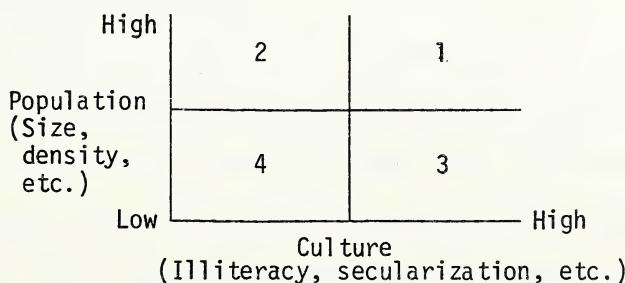
⁴ Ferdinand Tonnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, translated by Charles P. Loomis (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

levels of social organization.¹ These sociocultural cross pressures can lead to a restructuring of local social systems in terms of the national system, thus upsetting the local hierarchical balance. These factors, Pahl claims, can lead to such phenomena as 'urban villages' in the center of metropolitan places, and 'metropolitan villages' developing at the urban fringe. Any continuum that may exist is probably more of a temporal nature, expressed in the transition from 'ruralness' to 'urbanness' over time.

Dewey agrees that a rural-urban continuum may exist, but that from an applied standpoint it is relatively unimportant.² Criticising the "reductionism that has been popular in American sociology in recent decades", he suggests that the juxtaposition of demographic and cultural variables produces four, rather than two, categories. This threatens the logical sufficiency of the notion, which is essentially founded on the premise of a linear transition between two poles. Abrahamson has interpreted Dewey's work in the following figure.

Figure 2.1

FOUR COMMUNITY TYPES PRODUCED BY THE JUXTAPOSITION
OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL VARIABLES



Adapted from: Mark Abrahamson, Urban Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), p. 227.

¹ R.E. Pahl, "The Rural-Urban Continuum," pp. 312-317.

² Richard Dewey, "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real, but Relatively Unimportant," American Journal of Sociology 6 (1960), pp. 60-66.

The rural community is represented by Cell 4, and the urban community by Cell 1. However, the remaining two cells, Dewey claims, are usually ignored, despite a number of community types that are eligible to be placed in them. Many contemporary North American college towns represent Cell 3 types; they are usually low in population but high in urban cultural characteristics. Large urban ghettos could qualify for Cell 2 if viewed as culturally separate from the larger city.

In summary, it appears that while the urban fringe area can be adequately defined in spatial and political terms, its sociological characteristics are less distinct. Although often spatially identified with the rural non-farm population, the urban fringe dweller is usually linked more closely with the urban sector in terms of values, lifestyles and occupations. Since urbanites tend to take their urban values with them when they settle at the fringe, there is little reason to suspect that a distinct form of social organization has emerged there. Socioeconomically, North American fringe residents are urbanites, although this does not preclude the possibility of social and economic differentiation among the urbanites who live there.

Fringe Communities and Suburbs

There appears to be greater consensus upon what constitutes the urban fringe as a geographical zone than upon the distinction between fringe communities and suburbs. Kurtz and Eicher have taken several sociologists and geographers to task for either confusing or ignoring this issue, but they provide little enlightenment themselves.¹ A major problem is that, like a number of sociologists, they emphasize the fringe as an area, paying little

¹ Kurtz and Eicher. Op. Cit., pp. 33-34.

attention to defining the communities that lie within it.

They consider suburbs to be incorporated or unincorporated communities located beyond the limits of the central city, although they may be contiguous with it. This definition is almost identical to that offered by Dobriner, who considers suburbs to be:

Those urbanized residential communities which are outside the corporate limits of a large central city, but which are culturally and economically dependent upon the central city.¹

In terms of land characteristics, Kurtz and Eicher see land use in suburbs as almost exclusively urban, being largely utilized for residential development.² Population density is usually intermediate between city and fringe area; some suburbs may contain single family residence on large lots, while others may exhibit high density forms of construction. The occupational structure of suburbs, according to the authors, is similar to that of the city, although occupational homogeneity may exist within suburbs; some ensure this by the nature of their housing construction. In unincorporated suburbs it is not uncommon for a proportion of the population to be engaged in rural occupations. The authors feel that governmental structure is an important criterion in the differentiation between incorporated and unincorporated suburbs. Because of their taxation powers, the former are often able to offer services that are similar to those found in large urban centers, and as a result become politically independent of the city.

Following these criteria, it would seem that suburbs may be commonly

¹ William M. Dobriner, (ed), The Suburban Community (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1958), p. xvii.

² Kurtz and Eicher, Op. Cit., 0. 35.

found in the urban fringe zone. And if this is the case, what distinguishes them from fringe communities? The answer to this question may be one of degree, rather than of absolutes. It may be that the term 'fringe community' is inappropriate in light of other alternatives. The issue is less a question of terminology than of operational criteria. It may be possible to differentiate between suburbs and fringe communities on the basis of contiguity. A review of the literature leaves the impression that most so-called 'fringe communities' are discontiguous in relationship to the city; in other words, they are separated from the city by tracts of undeveloped land. Some of this land may still be employed in agricultural production, some may be in a state of transition awaiting development. From a population standpoint, there appears to be little difference between fringe communities and suburbs; both rely heavily upon the city for employment and for the supply of certain goods and services. Nevertheless, some distinction has been attempted in Britain, based largely upon employment characteristics; this criterion has given rise to the concept of the 'metropolitan village'.

The Metropolitan Village

As a result of post war economic growth, the ever-widening sphere of influence commanded by large industrial cities, and the increasing acceptance of commuting to work, fringe communities have become something of an ideal-type that, like the suburb, is poorly grounded in fact. The popular literature has a tendency to present the 'average' urban fringe community as a quintessential example of pre-industrial charm, complete with half timbered houses, quaint shops, and village green. Unfortunately, this stereotype fails to account for a large proportion of fringe communities that have been blessed with very few aesthetic qualities. Across the

Canadian prairies many such examples can be found in the form of small rural service/trade centers that had begun the process of decline before coming within an adjacent city's zone of influence.

These pre-existent communities have received particular attention in Britain. While often described as 'discontinuous suburbs', Masser and Stroud have coined the term 'metropolitan villages', an euphemism that has been widely adopted during the past decade.¹ In a study of three villages in Britain's Merseyside area, the authors use this concept in an attempt to demonstrate a distinction between communities that are sufficiently close to urban places to attract commuters, and those that are still dependent upon agriculture. They have found that there is little apparent relationship between distance from urban area and the extent to which communities satisfy concepts of rural character and community identity. 'Growth', they feel, distinguishes the metropolitan village from its agricultural counterpart which usually is faced with the opposite problem of decline.

More recently, Connell has suggested that a metropolitan village should, by definition, have a minimum of 20 percent of its work force employed in adjacent urban places.² Spatially, the key characteristic of the metropolitan village is its accessibility to urban employment, although this is not always interpreted in terms of simple geographic distance.

Morphologically, there appears to be a predictable characteristic of nucleation in metropolitan villages. In Britain, Green has examined

¹ F.I. Masser and D.C. Stroud, Op. Cit.

² John Connell, "The Metropolitan Village: Spatial and Social Processes in Discontinuous Suburbs," in Surburban Growth, ed. James H. Johnson (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1974).

one of many such communities that has trinucleated into the original village site, a local (public) housing authority development, and a private housing estate.¹ In Canada, where public housing is at best a metropolitan phenomenon binucleation is more common. Pre-existent metropolitan villages in the Edmonton area follow this pattern.

The physical and political terms of reference for metropolitan villages are intuitively appealing. By spatial definition they lie within the urban fringe and are typically incorporated places. Connell sees them as 'little more than small, detached portions of suburbia', although he emphasizes that separation is often distinct and maintained by planning restrictions. From the point of social organization the terms of reference are no more distinct than for the fringe as a whole. Connell describes the more recent newcomers as being generally high in socioeconomic and educational status. They tend to be owner-occupiers and they are younger than the established village households.²

Boskoff suggests that communities of this type (which he calls 'satellite' communities) possess distinctive population characteristics which seem to be intermediate to those of the central city and the suburban areas.³ His findings with respect to average socioeconomic status of residents are at variance with those of Connell. Referring to a study by Duncan and Reiss he points to the comparatively lower status levels of 'satellite' populations, as measured by median rentals and property values. Such

¹ P. Green, "Drymen: Village Growth and Community Problems," Sociologia Ruralis 4 (1964), pp. 52-61.

² Connell, Op. Cit., p. 81.

³ Alvin Boskoff, The Sociology of Urban Regions (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 147.

communities, he feels, lie between the city and the suburb in such features as percent of non whites, sex ratio, proportion of married males, and proportion of younger persons. He also claims that they show an average population increase considerably below that of suburbs, though comparable to, or higher than, that of central cities. Boskoff's observations are fairly consistent with a 1971 study of Stony Plain by Ironside and Proudfoot.¹ Their analysis reveals a population preponderance of females, a relatively narrow base of children up to the age of fifteen years, under-representation in the active working age groups among males, and over-representation in age groups above sixty compared with the Edmonton age pyramid. It is important to note, however, that cross sectional studies do not reflect the impact of rapid urbanization over time. Stony Plain's population has increased drastically since 1971, which suggests that many of these statistics are entirely dependent upon the precise point of examination.

In summary, then, it would appear that metropolitan villages can be most logically defined in terms of their political autonomy and their location relative to employment opportunities. More specifically, they are politically independent of the adjacent city, with a minimum of 20 percent of their work force employed outside the community. This is a useful datum point, since it obviates the necessity of placing parameters on such factors as population. Indeed, Boskoff specifically refers to 'satellite cities', suggesting that the larger communities may easily exceed 100,000 people.

"Unlike most suburbs but in line with central cities, satellite cities are politically independent, formally organized communities. They generally supply their residents with the normal range of community services-- often with distinct quality in the larger satellites-- but are rarely able to afford such urban accomplishments as art

¹ R.G. Ironside and V.B. Proudfoot, Stony Plain Community Survey, Department of Geography, University of Alberta, 1971, pp. 5-8.

museums, symphony orchestras, etc.¹

The Edmonton Context

The work of Masser and Stroud, Connell, and Boskoff is particularly relevant to this study, since five of the six communities surveyed were pre-existent before coming within Edmonton's zone of influence. All are discontiguous communities in relation to Edmonton, lying beyond its corporate limits and in all cases separated by undeveloped agricultural land. It is because of these criteria, and other terms of reference suggested by the authors discussed, that they have not been described as suburbs. However, this thesis does not emphasize significant differences between suburbs and fringe communities, particularly with respect to socioeconomic characteristics. It is likely that fringe communities experience a weaker relationship with the adjacent city than do suburbs; they may also be expected to retain some involvement with agriculture, or at least market gardening. The essential distinction between the two forms appears to be more of a temporal nature than anything else. Over time, it is common for fringe communities to become more closely associated with the adjacent city until they are eventually annexed. Edmonton alone offers several examples in this regard. At some historical point pre-existent communities become urban fringe communities, then suburbs, finally losing their autonomy when absorbed by the city.

Towards a Sociology of the Urban Fringe

It is unfortunate that no systematic body of theory has yet developed with respect to the urbanization of rural areas. The North

¹ Boskoff, Op. Cit., pp. 142-144.

American school of sociology has perhaps come closest by identifying the rural-urban interface. Aside from a preoccupation with developing demographic criteria for defining this area, the social organization of the urban fringe has also come under scrutiny. Not surprisingly, this has been largely viewed in terms of its relationship with the adjacent central city. Urban fringe theory, as it presently exists, is largely substantive in orientation: it relates directly to the empirical social world, in contrast to the metasociology of community theorists. Some explanation for this may lie in the fact that most empirical approaches to the social organization of the urban fringe are not community oriented; rather, they focus upon individual or group attitudes and behaviors within a clearly identified frame of reference. As Reiss has pointed out, a large number of purportedly 'community' studies simply use a territorial area as a sampling context¹ and examine some problematic aspect within it.¹

It would seem that the fundamental point of departure from what Reiss considers to be a community study issues from the fact that social relations within urban fringe communities tend to be perceived as a function of the people moving into them. Wissink, who has put together an exhaustive inventory of urban fringe characteristics, regards the city as the primary agent of change in an area that otherwise demonstrates no social characteristics of its own.²

¹ Albert J. Reiss, "The Sociological Study of Communities," Rural Sociology 24 (1959), p. 119.

² G.A. Wissink, American Cities in Perspective (Assen: Van Gorcum and Company, 1962), pp. 65-75.

Empirical Approaches to Social Organization at the Urban Fringe

Spectorsky was one of the first North American researchers to describe what has now become something of a classical approach to the study of urban fringe social organization and change.¹ Central to his work in the "Exurbanite" was the concept of 'flight' from the central city to surrounding non-metropolitan areas and communities. While his profile of the typical commuter was highly idiosyncratic it has enjoyed a surprising degree of credence in light of more recent empirical research. To Spectorsky the archetypal exurbanite is a displaced New Yorker, commuting daily to work in the city. He will be engaged in the communications media, a vocation that predisposes him to a less typical lifestyle than that of others in the work force. Spiritually he remains an urbanite, regardless of his rural locus. But more than anything else he is pursuing the 'limited dream', an ideological compromise that faces up to the non existence of Utopia while settling for a more realistic substitute. It is the type of collective image that has haunted the suburbanite, a stereotype that Donaldson has roundly condemned as entirely misleading.

'This image sees the suburbs as the habitat of the middle or upper-middle class; not of the upper class and not of the lower class, or the lower-middle class either. Such 'typical' suburbanites undertake long commutes from home to offices each day; they drink a little too much on weekends; they have no servants (but perhaps a once-a-week cleaning woman); they live, almost inevitably, in Westchester County or in southern Connecticut. This is where Tom Rath, The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, lives; it is where Harry Bannerman, Max Shulman's inept philanderer of Rally Round the Flag, Boys, makes his home; it is where A.C. Spectorsky's exurbanites (suburbanites with a longer commute than most) hang their hats.'²

¹ Spectorsky, Op. Cit.

² Scott Donaldson, The Suburban Myth, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 45-46.

In many ways this phenomenon identifies with the so-called 'push' and 'pull' hypotheses. Crime and pollution and the workaday rat race may be conceived as a 'push' away from the central city; the prospect of peace and quiet and fresh air constitute the 'pull' to rural living. To the exurbanite it is a simple matter of costs and benefits; he bears the social and financial costs of a daily journey to work in exchange for an improved lifestyle. These two hypotheses are not complimentary. Guterbock emphasizes that the former is a more recent construct than that of the pull to the rural life. In addition to the common problems of the central city environment, which many white, middle class North American urbanites perceive as threatening, this hypothesis implicitly assumes that the middle class majority would locate quite differently were it not for racial minority presence and social disorganization in the central city. It views residential disaggregation as a 'forced flight' to the urban fringe, involving substantial social and economic costs for those who flee. Guterbock has predicted that under improved conditions, many exurbanites would quickly repatriate themselves with the central city.¹

Spectorsky was particularly interested in the social and physical changes that exurbanites bring to the urban fringe. He suggests that exurbia population growth creates substantially more than the mere sum of its parts; exurbanites change the flavor of the community by simply being there. Their incomes usually exceed those of the 'natives', and this factor, coupled with (initially at least) lower costs of certain local goods and services, permits them to indulge in relatively conspicuous consumption.

¹ Thomas Guterbock, "The Push Hypothesis: Minority Presence, Crime, and Urban Deconcentration," in The Changing Face of the Suburbs, ed. Barry Schwartz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Inevitably, real estate values rise as a result of demand; available land (and property) is purchased on speculation. The exurbanites' margin of discretionary income has repercussions in other local sectors, too, all of which tend to place the native at an economic disadvantage. Politically, the power base of local decision-making begins to shift away from the community; its fortunes are now determined elsewhere, usually in the adjacent city.

In Britain, where it is still fashionable to heap scorn upon the nouveau riche, the influx of urban commuters into fringe communities has sharpened class related differences. Pahl¹ and Green² are among those who have delineated the polarization of class groups in expanding British fringe communities. Pahl found that much of this polarization was best understood in terms of class differences rather than in commuting characteristics alone. He exposed four social characteristics that permute to generate several fairly distinct resident types: social class, length of residence in the community, place of work, and type of work. His major theme, however, is that social class should be considered as the most important factor in promoting change in the social structure of fringe communities. He found that, five years prior to the study, two-thirds of incoming families to the study area had been 'middle class', and most of these heads of household were commuters. British public housing legislation provides, as a matter of priority, housing to local working class families; middle class families usually purchase either a house in the original section of the community or a new home in a spatially segregated private

¹ R.E. Pahl, "Class and Community in English Commuter Villages".

² Green. Op. Cit.

development. Local planning codes mediate the nature of such development to a high degree; however, the long term trend is towards the type of nucleation previously mentioned.

Similar characteristics were found by Thorns in a study of eleven rural parishes in South Nottinghamshire, England.¹ However, he found that class distinctions were largely drawn between those, both native and exurbanite, who were mostly employed in nearby Nottingham city, and those who were still locally employed, many in agriculture. Thus, the commuters were comprised of both exurbanites and natives; but both distinguished themselves by higher incomes derived from urban based jobs. The exurbanites were largely professional and managerial while the natives had obtained skilled and semi-skilled industrial jobs. This last group constituted the most affluent component of the rural working class; those who were locally employed worked longer hours for lower wages, all of which created tension between the two groups. Generally, however, Thorns found little evidence of polarization between the exurbanite and the local working class segments, although it emerged between class strata. Rather, a new 'hybrid' working class seemed to be developing due to the extent that native working class commuters were beginning to approximate their exurbanite counterparts.

North American class differences are more diffuse than those in Britain, often being based upon different criteria. It may be speculated that this has contributed to American and Canadian sociological emphasis on spatial and temporal factors prevailing at the urban fringe. Graber's study of Georgetown is clearly structured along the divisions of 'new-comers' and 'oldtimers', although she recognizes variant socioeconomic

¹ David C. Thorns, "The Changing System of Rural Stratification," Sociologia Ruralis 8 (1968), pp. 161-175.

characteristics within and between these two groups.¹ Similarly, Sinclair and Westhues concern themselves to a large extent with identifying the major factors involved in Fringetown's transition from rural to urban.²

Conflict and Social Disorganization

A substantial proportion of the documented studies dealing with social organization and social change at the urban fringe have been a response to manifestations of social disorganization. Problems of this type have tended to attract an interested lay audience through articles published in the print media, giving rise to what Sylvia Fava has called 'pop sociology'.³

These internal conflicts commonly possess political overtones. Elaborating upon the work of Coleman, Gamson has examined situations where such disputes have become 'rancorous'; in other words, where they are characterized by the belief that norms associated with the waging of political battle have been violated.⁴ Actions occur which produce a shared conclusion that tactics used to influence the outcome of the dispute are 'dirty' or underhanded. According to Coleman, a number of characteristics emerge as controversy within a community turns to rancorous conflict. These include a shift from specific disagreements to those of a more general nature; the elaboration of these issues into new, indirectly related disagreements; and a final shift from disagreement to direct antagonism.

¹ Edith E. Gruber, "Newcomers and Oldtimers: Growth and Change in a Mountain Town," Rural Sociology 39 (1974), pp. 504-513.

² Sinclair and Westhues, Op. Cit.

³ Sylvia Fava, "The Pop Sociology of Suburbs and New Towns," in New Towns and the Suburban Dream, ed. Irving Lewis Allen (New York: National University Publications, 1977).

⁴ William A. Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics," American Sociological Review 31 (1966), pp. 71-81.

Changes in social organization are also apparent as the controversy intensifies; partisan organizations emerge which exacerbate the gradual polarization of views.¹ This is evident in Graber's Georgetown and well exposed by Sinclair and Westhues in their study of Fringetown.² In the latter community a Citizens' Action Committee (CAC), mostly comprised of newcomers (whom the press referred to as 'intellectuals'), had been organized to resist new apartment development in the community. The pro-development group, labelled 'materialists', included a majority of long term residents. The course which this dispute took is close to Coleman's model, developing political overtones as it became part and parcel of the coincident election battle for a new village council.

The CAC, which was strictly on the outside in terms of local government involvement, attempted to get its key members elected to certain offices on the council, and were firmly opposed by the incumbents who were all pro-development. To this point the dispute would be described simply as 'factionalism'. It changed because the CAC was formally organized and had a professed ideology, whereas the village council incumbents and their followers campaigned on the basis of particularistic friendship ties and outright favoritism. As a result, Sinclair and Westhues claim that the conflict in Fringetown became rancorous because it involved the clash between a factional and an ideological style of politicking.

The most significant fact to arise from Graber's study is that attitudes among newcomers and oldtimers are neither as straightforward nor predictable as one might imagine. She found, as Pahl and others have,

¹ James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

² Sinclair and Westhues, Op. Cit.

that newcomers are more likely than oldtimers to oppose changes in this type of community. But this superficial polarization is greatly complicated by other social and economic factors. In essence, she found that the characteristics which identified with specific attitudes were also those which differentiated the natives from the newcomers. According to Graber, 'everyone wanted to be the last person to move into Georgetown. They wanted to close the gate after they were in'.¹ An Historical Preservation Commission was established and given a mandate to preserve the character of the town and to regulate development. In practice, the Commission found little need to defend the historical structure; rather, it spent most of its time overseeing new construction and certain structural alterations. Graber found that it was largely the newcomers who fostered the establishment of the Commission; despite the large block of higher status oldtimers who also backed the Ordinance, there was an even larger block of oldtimers who opposed it. Over 26 percent of the oldtimers opposed it, compared with only 10 percent of the newcomers. Ninety-two percent of the oldtimers who expressed support were white-collar workers, against 50 percent of the blue-collar oldtimers.

The conflict situation that ensued in Georgetown was similar to that in Fringetown, except that it did not embroil the entire community. A proposed condominium development was denied a Certificate of Appropriateness by the Commission and a lawsuit was launched. Graber's opinion survey of residents revealed that white-collar workers as a whole were opposed to the development; only 26.8 percent of the white-collar newcomers and 14.3 percent of the white-collar oldtimers expressed support. Blue-collar workers

¹ Graber, Op. Cit., pp. 83-90.

generally approved of the development (45 percent of the blue-collar newcomers and 71.4 percent of the blue-collar oldtimers). Not surprisingly, education emerged as a key status variable. Of the blue-collar respondents with up to high school education, 66.7 percent expressed support compared with 42.8 percent of the blue-collar respondents with some college education.

The Emergent Areas of Concern

Locational Motivation

The reasons why people settle in the urban fringe have received sporadic attention in the literature, although the issue has been viewed largely in terms of commuting patterns. Researchers have frequently developed profiles on commuting exurbanites as a socioeconomic group for the purpose of predicting locational motivation.

Connell suggests that the housing situation in urban fringe communities provides much of this impetus, leading in turn to a selective form of in-migration.¹ Three housing types appear to prevail in British urban fringe communities: those built by the local housing authority (council houses), privately owned housing for rent, and privately developed housing for sale. These three types, Connell feels, dictate the kind of people who can and will live in a given community. In a similar vein, Wheeler has suggested that groups enjoying similar occupational status will display similar patterns of residence, a claim that is generally supported by empirical research.²

Pahl has conveniently dichotomized in-migrants into two groups,

¹ Connell, Op. Cit., pp. 83-90.

² James O. Wheeler, "Residential Location by Occupational Status," Urban Studies 5 (1968), pp. 24-32.

which he labels as 'elective' and 'non-elective', in reference to the extent to which they are able to choose where they wish to live.¹ His analytical focus here is almost exclusively upon the commuter, who approximates the archetype perceived by Spectorsky: he is an urbanite, he is middle class, and he 'enjoys choice as a way of life'. In keeping with his social position he espouses the rural way of life, considering himself a self appointed guardian of rusticity and tradition as he defines it. Gans concurs with Pahl's point of view in claiming that 'class' is the most sensitive index of an individual's ability to choose.² He also suggests that stages in the life cycle determine the area of choice that is most likely. And it is probable that Firey was referring to social class factors in his study of 'sentiment and symbolism' in Boston's Beacon Hill area.³

Social ecologist William Michelson adds support to these claims in noting that different levels of the environment are emphasized by people on different levels of the social class hierarchy.⁴ The upper class stratum, Michelson claims, seek not just a home (in fact, they probably already own one), but a home that is within easy access of civic and recreation facilities. They may not actually use these facilities; they are simply part of the middle class conception of what a planned community should be.

¹ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure, L.S.E. Geographical Papers #2, 1965 pp. 41-71.

² Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life," in Human Behavior and Social Processes, ed. A.M. Rose (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), pp. 642-643.

³ W.I. Firey, Land Use In Central Boston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

⁴ William H. Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment: A Sociological Approach (with revisions) (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 115-116.

Above all, however, the home must be protected from unwanted encroachments and undesirable neighbors. Michelson notes that S.D. Clark has described this stratum as 'community centered'; in other words, these people are keenly aware of both the home and the physical and social environment in which it is situated.¹

At the lower end of the social hierarchy, blue collar workers, particularly the skilled element, tend to be 'house centered'. Many, Michelson claims, are purchasing a home for the first time. In North America, where the detached dwelling is held as a model for family living, every effort is made to secure one:

'Their own house in a newly developing area appears the answer to problems of dirt, overcrowding and safety. They figure out just how much they can afford on a house and then buy it with great satisfaction. Later, they discover that commuting costs more than they expected, that the provision of community facilities raises their taxes intolerably, and that, more generally, the cost of living in and maintaining their new home is far higher than they expected. They have their house, but unanticipated demands are placed on them literally from all sides.'²

In short, this stratum demonstrates a characteristic desire for a single family home, or something akin to it, wherever possible. Location is less of an aesthetic issue than one of economics.

Michelson has also found that married urban residents have an overwhelming preference for single family dwellings, and will usually choose this type of accommodation over more conveniently located multiple family units. This variable is closely linked with stages in the life cycle and in child rearing, although the literature by no means indicates an exclus-

¹ Ibid., p. 117.

² Ibid., pp. 117-118.

ive relationship.¹ A similar study by the same author revealed that the desire for single family dwellings was significantly stronger among married respondents with children than among childless couples.²

Attitudes Toward Growth and Change

Sociologists have attempted to learn why residents of urban fringe communities (and other residential forms) react differently to circumstances that promise to affect their local environment. Often, these differences are associated with two resident groups, labelled 'newcomers' and 'old-timers'. After enduring for years as the rear guard for all that is traditional, oldtimers have more recently been identified with a complete reversal of this position. Researchers now see newcomers as the major advocates of the status quo. While the oldtimers apparently welcome change on purely economic grounds, newcomers strive to maintain the community in its original form.

Whether this dichotomy is a reliable level of analysis may be questioned. The residents of 'Fringetown', while described largely in this fashion, quite clearly held attitudes toward their community that were consistent with their socioeconomic status. Sinclair and Westhues acknowledge this:

'While it is true that the two camps in Fringetown came to be labelled oldtimers and newcomers in the press and in the village itself, we expect that these labels coincide with important class differences. If we discover that the occupations of newcomers are of higher prestige, education and income than those of oldtimers, the sources of the

¹ William Michelson, "Potential Candidates for the Designers' Paradise: A Social Analysis From a Nationwide Survey," Social Forces 46 (1967), pp. 190-196.

² William Michelson, "An Empirical Analysis of Urban Environmental Preferences," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 32 (1966), pp. 355-360.

conflict will come into clearer focus.¹

Green found much the same situation in his study of the Scottish fringe community of Drymen.²

It is clear, however, that many of these conclusions are implicitly based on commuting characteristics. The newcomers are seen to be commuting exurbanites; those who are natives of the community, or who have lived and worked in it for many years, are considered to be oldtimers. Unfortunately, this is an oversimplification of reality; apart from ignoring local social hierarchies, it also takes an unrealistic view of employment opportunities. It will be recalled that Thorns discovered a substantial proportion of his Nottingham area 'natives' had obtained industrial work in the adjacent city.³ Although local people have been found to largely support physical change proposals since they often promise an improved economy and lower taxes, higher status locals have sometimes been observed to resist them. Their reasons may be economic or political, or both, but essentially, like Pahl's middle class commuters, they enjoy a greater amount of 'choice'. They are either in a position to manipulate the local economy, or they can afford a more 'idealized' perspective of their local community than those on the lower socioeconomic strata.

Dobriner's case study of a New England community (which he fictitiously named "Old Harbor") lends some support to this argument.⁴ Old

¹ Sinclair and Westhues, Op. Cit., pp. 86-87.

² Green, Op. Cit.

³ Thorns, Op. Cit.

⁴ William Dobriner, "The Natural History of a Reluctant Suburb," in Class in Suburbia, ed. William Dobriner (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

Harbor's transition from a conservative Yankee village, complete with a standing 'morals committee' which examined the respectability of prospective residents, to that of a dormitory community reflects the cross pressures exerted by different resident groups. The established settlers tended to be local entrepreneurs-- small businessmen with stores and factories in the town; and with a community over three hundred years old behind them, they felt they had roots. The wealthier newcomers were mostly salaried professionals and executives, most of whom worked outside the town. Dobriner points out that while most of the oldtimers rationalized that polluting traffic on the main street also meant increased business, there was an ongoing conflict between groups over the nature and scale in which things should be done in the village. The oldtimers still equated adequate education with the little red schoolhouse, the newcomers wanted expensive, modern education with all the trimmings.

From these findings it would appear that, rather than characteristically advocating or resisting change in the local community, higher status residents generally hold more definitive attitudes toward their environment than those at the lower end of the social spectrum. Because they enjoy greater choice in matters relating to where they live and with whom they associate, they are likely to guard this advantage wherever necessary.

Concern for the Community

The manner in which the local community's physical and social credentials have been emphasized by different resident groups is frequently discussed in the literature. Graber's study of Georgetown is a useful example of contrasting approaches to issues of long term community planning. Georgetown's Historic Preservation Ordinance was largely the brainchild of newcomers to the community, most of them commuters who travelled daily to

work in nearby Denver. Like Sinclair and Westhues, Graber found that length of residence and commuting and social class characteristics coincided to a high degree with respect to attitudes toward the Ordnance and local long term planning:

'Resistance to historic preservation which existed in Georgetown centered chiefly among some oldtimers, blue-collar workers, those with less than average education, and those over forty.'¹

Pahl sees the causes of differential community awareness and concern as the product of four major processes: 1. social and spatial segregation arising largely from income differences; 2. selective in-migration to the community due to housing cost deterrents; 3. changing geographical sources of employment at the fringe. These factors have tended to produce an urban oriented population with distinct city-center linkages and a commuting lifestyle. Geographical and local social hierarchies have gradually collapsed as fringe communities become interlocking parts of the dispersed city. Higher status individuals may perceive these trends as a threat to the stability of their community, and they may seek out structured and formally organized vehicles of expression. Where formal planning legislation is in force and where these programs accommodate input from the public sector, they generally receive more attention from the higher socioeconomic strata than those at the opposite end of the status spectrum. In situations where class polarizations develop, the apparent lack of interest in the community demonstrated by the lower and working classes is often a form of passive resistance to the values and lifestyles of their more affluent neighbors.²

¹ Edith Graber, Op. Cit., p. 511.

² R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure.

Community awareness also seems to be closely associated with age and family characteristics. Chapin and Brail have linked the former with changing recreation and leisure patterns of adults, and these in turn have led to differing perspectives upon what constitutes an acceptable community environment.¹ Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that child-rearing adds new dimensions to community awareness. Parents become more vitally concerned with providing a safe and stable environment in which to raise their children.

Local Community Involvement

The extent to which residents become involved in local community activities is closely tied to community concern. And like the latter it has been explained in terms of several social, spatial, and economic dimensions.

In a study of urban social hierarchies, Coleman and Neugarten discovered a number of community involvement characteristics that varied predictably along social class divisions. The authors found that these hierarchies are essentially relative to the local system. At the metropolitan level, for example, upper-middle class residents did not usually occupy positions of leadership in civic affairs, but instead were more conspicuous at the suburban level. Upper-middle class suburbanites were highly involved in local political affairs-- local government, park boards, school committees, and zoning commissions. In other words, where they comprise the top stratum in terms of local criteria, they frequently assume roles carried by the upper classes in the larger society.

¹ F.S. Chapin and R.K. Brail, "Human Activity Systems in the Metropolitan United States," Environment and Behavior 1 (1969), pp. 107-130.

Coleman and Neugarten found that community involvement, for the lower middle class in Kansas City, was at a more *gemeinschaft* level than that of the upper middle classes.¹ Whereas the latter were economically and socially equipped to join and actively participate in country clubs and cultural organizations, the former tended to focus their social activities upon church related organizations, commercial associations (for example, the Retail Grocers Association) and clubs and organizations that have a distinct consumer co-operative flavor. The authors point out, however, that it is common for all class levels to have an 'elite' core: those who aspire to a social and economic life above their normal parameters. With somewhat higher incomes and extended social contacts they tend to provide leadership for the remainder of their class in social activities and community awareness. This appears to be particularly true of the lower middle class.

Observations upon the social relations of the blue-collar class in the Kansas study provide some useful insights that highlight the differences between working and middle class values. More specifically, the authors found that these distinctions were based on combinations of occupation, income, education, living standards, ambition, and choice of neighborhood, rather than on family name and/or ancestry. Education, as many researchers have found, was significantly related. As a socioeconomic stratum, blue-collar workers were less club conscious and attended church less regularly than the lower middle class. Few felt themselves equipped to handle community activities, particularly where they involved some degree of responsibility. Those who did join clubs did so essentially for recreation.

¹ Richard P. Coleman and Bernice L. Neugarten, Social Status in the City (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1971).

Similarly, working class women considered that their primary obligations were towards their husbands, offspring, home, and immediate relatives. The major preoccupation of the Kansas working class was stability in family life and finances; the most important social element to the males was the labor union, which offered both recreation and security.

Bell and Force found similar characteristics in a study of formal association participation in four San Francisco neighborhoods.¹ Male residents living in high economic status neighborhoods had proportionately more extensive memberships in non-union related organizations than those living in low economic status neighborhoods. However, lower economic status respondents expressed a greater desire to join formal organizations within their own social stratum than those of higher economic status.

Gans' Levittowners apparently failed to intermingle, particularly following the initial settlement period.² Instead, residents began to search past their neighbors for people with their own values and interests; working class and middle class residents began to recoalcesce into homogeneous status groups, if not physically at least socially. Michelson has quoted the comments of Keller who sums up this issue:

' The evidence as gathered from new towns and housing estates throughout the world suggests that mixing groups may actually lead to hostility and conflict rather than to a more interesting and varied communal life; that the better off, no matter how defined or measured, refuse to live side by side, not to say co-operate in community clubs and projects, with those they consider inferior to them; and that those who conceptions of privacy and friendship, sociability and neighboring are opposed will soon find themselves pitted against each other

¹ Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces 34 (1955), pp. 345-350.

² Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), p. 170.

in resentment or withdrawing into loneliness. Social contrasts do not, apparently, automatically foster either creative self- or community development.¹

One of the most common explanations offered by researchers of this type of phenomenon is that working class and, to a more qualified extent lower middle class, residents do not possess the necessary social skills to interact with their better educated and, occasionally, more affluent neighbors. 'Skills' of this type become apparent when opportunities arise for public expression over local community issues.

However, these class divisions tend to be clouded by non vertical crystallization of community involvement patterns. Merton has identified predictable 'joining' characteristics within fairly homogeneous socio-economic groups.² In a study of a U.S. eastern seaboard town, he found that 'local' influentials differed in their selection of voluntary organization memberships to those of the 'cosmopolitans'. The latter assessed themselves in terms of the greater society, maintaining one foot in the community and the other in the affairs of the nation. This stratum appeared to be interested in organizations that helped to extend their knowledge and skills. The locals, according to Merton, largely confined their interests to local concerns, giving little thought to national or regional matters. Unlike the cosmopolitans, they tended to join organizations as a means to making contacts and extending personal relationships.

Referring to the suburban sector, human ecologist Walter Martin suggests that the phenomenon of commuting to work is a major factor in

¹ William H. Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, pp. 121-122.

² Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), Chapter 10.

differing levels of community activity.¹ Suburban residents, by the very nature of their residence location, are restricted in their participation of social activities located in the central city. Although they are spatially closer to the rural population they find little in common with this sector. Based on the findings of his own research and that of Lundberg, Whetten, and Scaff, Martin concludes that 1. commuters participate less than non-commuters in voluntary associations and informal groupings in the residence community; 2. commuters participate more than non-commuters in the affairs of some community other than the residence community; 3. as a result of the daily commuting of males, women play an usually important role in voluntary associations and other interaction situations in the suburbs.²

Residential Satisfaction at the Urban Fringe

A substantial body of literature, much of it contradictory, has developed from the study of residential preferences and community satisfaction. This has a direct relationship to empirical work on fringe communities, since it is customarily accepted that such groups as the middle class exurbanites, who migrate to the fringe in pursuit of a desired way of life, will enjoy a greater affinity with that community than those who settle there for purely economic reasons. Unfortunately, there is little evidence, particularly with respect to urban fringe communities, to indicate whether those who correspond to the former typology have later found satisfaction

¹ Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence," American Sociological Review 21 (1956), pp. 446-453.

² For an ecological perspective on urban fringe commuting characteristics, see: Leo F. Schnore, "The Separation of Home and Work: A Problem for Human Ecology," Social Forces 32 (1953), pp. 336-343.

in their decision.

Wilson has suggested that small towns and suburbs are socially more homogeneous than large cities, facilitating a greater sense of community.¹ He also argues that members of a community essentially prefer homogeneity and subconsciously strive for it as a cornerstone of community satisfaction. Hensler, on the other hand, contradicts Wilson's findings. In a survey of the Boston metropolitan area, she found that only blue collar workers who lived in homogeneous working class districts displayed any systematic satisfaction with the local community.² Both Goldsmith and Munsterman and Duran and Eckart³ have concluded that residential satisfaction may be greater where neighborhoods are neither highly homogeneous nor highly heterogeneous. Durant and Eckart, using a combination of a four-city survey and census information generated a composite measure of community satisfaction and utilized it as a dependent variable. Indicators of social rank, education, and occupation were used as independent variables, which in turn were reduced to categories for analysis purposes. The authors tested three hypotheses: 1. that community satisfaction would increase with length of neighborhood residence for those individuals who inhabit stable neighborhoods composed of persons of comparable social status; 2. that an interactive relationship would exist between city and individual social rank and community evaluations; 3. that community satisfaction would

¹ J.Q. Wilson, "The Urban Unease: Community vs City," The Public Interest 12 (1968), pp. 25-39.

² Deborah Hensler, "The Significance of 'Community' for Suburban Politics," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, 1970.

³ H.F. Goldsmith and J.T. Munsterman, "Neighborhood Homogeneity and Community Satisfaction," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, 1967; Roger Durand and Dennis R. Eckart, "Social Rank, Residential Effects and Community Satisfaction," Social Forces 52 (1973), pp. 74-85.

increase as a multiplicative function of relative economic stake in the community and frequency of neighborhood contacts among those who inhabit socially compatible residential enclaves.

One of the most significant findings of the Durand-Eckart study was that the process of selfselection tended to suppress relationships between variables, a familiar finding in much of the related literature. However, even controlling for on-going changes in the social composition of inclusive neighborhood groups, very little evidence was found to support the possibility that persons who inhabit socially homogeneous neighborhoods are more satisfied with their local community than those who do not. This indicates that an alternative approach to the question of community satisfaction may be feasible. It is possible that those who commit themselves to residence in a given community or neighborhood through choice will be predisposed toward experiencing greater satisfaction with that community. In essence, this approach assumes that the socioeconomic homogeneity of a community is not a crucial factor in the decision-making process; rather, other factors, such as the overall style of life that the community offers, may be instrumental here. The important criteria are the individual's prior conception of the community and commitment to it as a desirable place to live. Certainly the evidence presented by Pahl, Graber, and others support this possibility.

Summary

This Chapter has examined some of the approaches to, and concerns of, empirical sociological research at the urban fringe. Several social, economic, and demographic variables appear to be related to the five emergent areas of concern, one of the most persistent being that of social class. Others, as outlined in Chapter One, include age, parent status

(whether or not parents have children), length of residence in the community, commuter status (whether residents commute to jobs outside the community or work locally), and prior accommodation (the type of dwelling occupied before relocating).

It is obvious, however, that many of these variables are interrelated. The purposes of Chapter Five will be to systematically examine their relationship to a series of indicators developed from the areas of concern. This will take the form of exploratory analysis using multiple regression techniques. Methodological issues relating to the operationalization of these factors into dependent and independent variables will be discussed in the following chapter. Statistical procedures employed in the multivariate analysis will be explained in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The Edmonton Regional Community

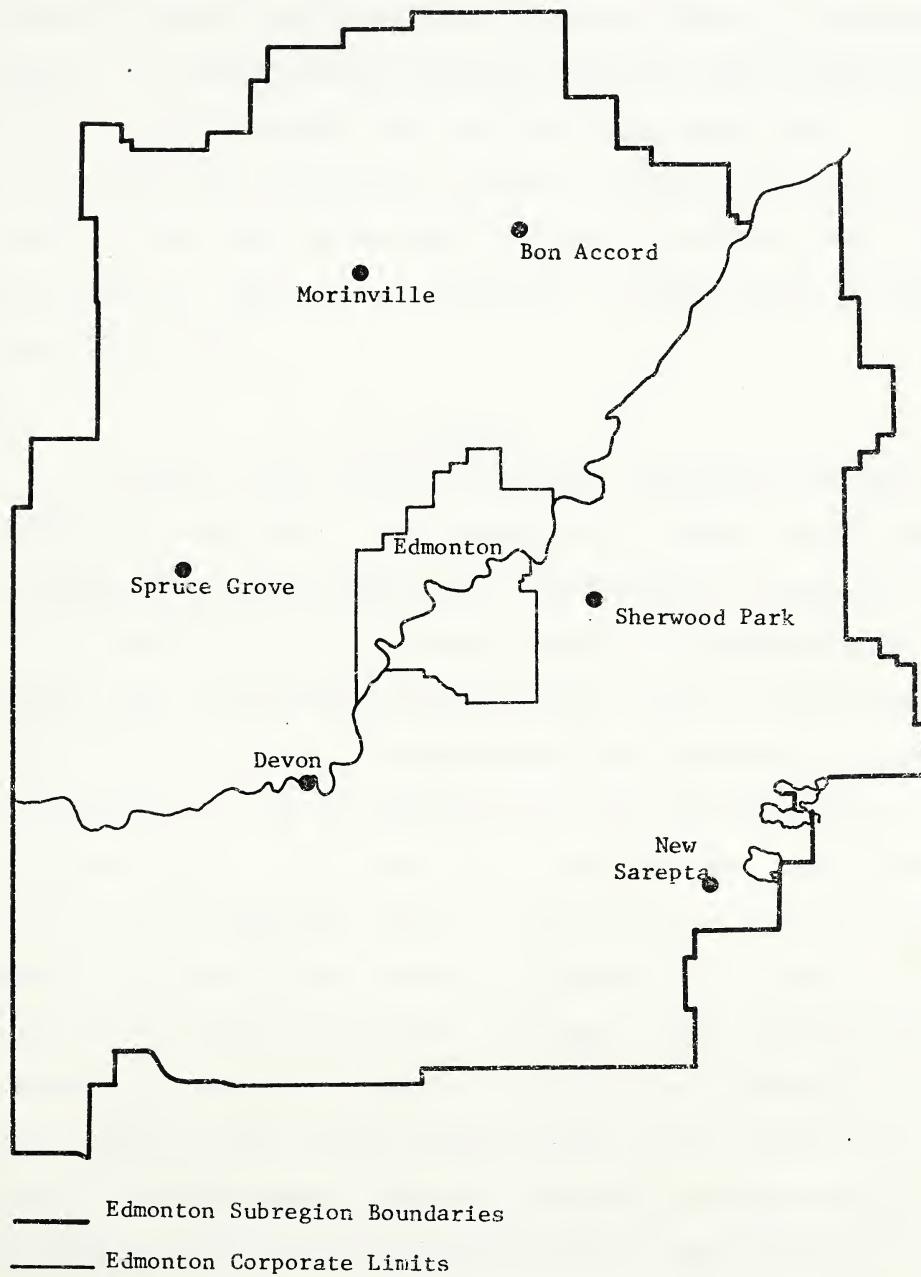
The empirical locus of this study lies within the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission's jurisdictional subregion, a Growth Study Zone subsumed under the Edmonton Region Planning Area. Since the former's average radius from the city of Edmonton is roughly fifty kilometers, a distance considered by many researchers to be the maximum practicable commuting range, its outer boundaries were adopted as the limits of the sampling frame. As the following map shows, the inner boundaries of this area abut Edmonton's corporate limits.

Many of the communities within the Growth Study Zone have been experiencing accelerated growth during the past decade as a result of their close proximity to Edmonton. A substantial proportion of this growth has taken place within the past five years, although not all is attributable to out-migration from Edmonton. Families moving into the area are increasingly selecting a fringe community as an alternative to living within the corporate boundaries of the City; others are moving in from outlying rural districts. As the following chapter points out, however, a large proportion of those in the work force are relying on Edmonton as a place of work.

Six communities were selected for the study on the basis of morphological, geographical, and ethnic criteria. Six was a purely arbitrary number, although it enabled the inclusion of several useful characteristics for illustrative purposes. Populations of these communities range from over 26,000 to a few hundred. Some, as the following chapter discusses, are situated close to Edmonton's corporate boundaries; others are

Figure 3.1

LOCATION OF THE SIX SAMPLE COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE
E.R.P.C. SUBREGION



are located toward the limits of normal commuting distance. One community was selected because of its traditional ethnic identity, another due to the fact that it was designed and developed as a bedroom community and never incorporated. Most, however, are former rural service/trade centers that served the turn-of-the-century farming needs of Edmonton's agricultural district. All these assorted characteristics will permit comparative analysis at the sub-sample level, wherever this appears useful. It should be reiterated that the interest in physical features extends only to the possible affects they may have upon the type of growth that takes place in each community. Other related information is offered purely for background illustration.

The Pretest

A pretest of the survey questionnaire, packaging, and sampling technique was undertaken in the community of St. Albert. At the time of the pretest this fringe community was incorporated as a town; since then it has attained city status. A random sample of 50 respondents was selected from the telephone directory, using a table of random numbers as a selection procedure. The questionnaire was administered door-to-door by the researcher; completed questionnaires were returned by mail. A 68 percent response was achieved with no second mailing. The original intention was to administer the post pretest sample in the same manner, however; the time consumed in merely administering fifty questionnaires, coupled with a shortage of manpower, dictated a totally mailed sample. Moreover, the questionnaire was substantially modified following the pretest. Several of the response categories were further refined and a number of variables added. Generally, the purpose of these changes was to increase the efficiency of the questionnaire, reduce ambiguity in some

of the questions, and increase the data yield. Precise terms of reference for eligible respondents were also added to the questionnaire form and the covering letter (see Appendix B).

Sampling Methodology

Since the unit of analysis in this study is essentially the individual, as opposed to the community, terms of reference for the prospective respondent were clarified in both the questionnaire and the covering letter. The sampling methodology was structured so as to restrict sampling to resident 'heads of household', who, presumably, would be over eighteen years of age and predominantly male.¹ The term 'head of household' was defined as 'the male spouse of a married couple, regardless of whether his income was less or greater than that of his wife, provided that he was living continuously in the same dwelling. In cases where a male or female was living alone or as a single parent, he or she would then be considered the 'head of household'. The use of heads of households as the unit of analysis in research pertaining to family-level values, attitudes, and socioeconomic characteristics has been defended by De Jong and Humphrey.² They argue that the characteristics of heads of households are valid indicators of the status of the entire household. The same defense is offered here. Moreover, while the head of household may not enjoy the consensus of the entire family in his/her role as decision-maker, he or she usually acts as 'gatekeeper' for the attitudes and behaviors that emanate from the

¹All respondents were found to be over the age of 18. Only one was under the age of 20.

² Gordon F. DeJong and Craig R. Humphrey, "Selected Characteristics of Metropolitan to Non-Metropolitan Area Migrants: A Study of Population Redistribution in Pennsylvania," Rural Sociology 41 (1976).

family unit.

It was essential, therefore, that the sampling design would confine itself to these terms of reference as exclusively as possible. A common indicator of a head of household is a residential telephone number, since the subscriber is usually the 'head of household' regardless of whether he or she is married, widowed, divorced, or single.

The sample size for each of the six sample communities was determined on the basis of the number of households they were estimated to contain, a strategy proposed by Baumel, Hobbs, and Powers.¹ Assuming that each listed residential telephone number represented a head of household, an estimate of the total number in each community could be easily tabulated. There is always the possibility of bias being introduced into telephone directory sampling, as evidenced by the notorious "Literary Digest" presidential pre-election poll of 1936, which failed to recognize that the poorer elements of the electorate did not own telephones. Lately, such biases tend to be created by unlisted numbers, which have increased dramatically in North American urban areas during the past decade. Usually, unlisted numbers are an attempt to avoid harassment, which can occur for various reasons among all social strata. People resort to silent numbers as a strategy for evading bill collectors, others simply to curtail the constant bombardment of telephone canvassing and advertising.

When approached with this problem, Alberta Government Telephones, which services subscribers in all six subsamples, stated that approximately 2 percent of rural telephone numbers in Alberta are unlisted, depending

¹ Phillip Baumel, Daryl J. Hobbs, and Ronald C. Powers. The Community Survey: Its Use in Development Action Programs. Co-operative Extension Service, Iowa State University, Date Unknown.

upon their proximity to large urban centers. In any event this compares favorably with urban rates as high as 30 percent in some areas of the United States. It was decided that the risk of this type of bias, in this instance, was not significant .

With the exception of Sherwood Park each residential telephone number in each community was consecutively numbered, each subsample being treated discretely. All non-residential and rural route numbers were screened out. The rationale behind this latter strategy was the assumption that those who did not live within the community would probably not be so concerned about, or involved in, its affairs as those who did. Moreover, it served as a standardization procedure for determining the sampling frame; a problem with rural community subscriber listings is that accompanying addresses often reveal little information about where the subscriber is actually located.

The telephone numbers remaining after the screening process were fed into the computer and a random sample of predetermined size drawn off each community. Due to Sherwood Park's larger population and consequently larger subscriber listings, the preceding sampling methodology was not practicable. Instead, a sample was obtained by using a table of random numbers as the basis for selecting several telephone numbers from each page of listings. The total sample for all communities amounted to 1,555.

The Survey Questionnaire Package

The survey questionnaire was mailed to the sample households. In an attempt to ensure the anonymity of respondents the questionnaires were identified only with a code number signifying the sample community. The mailed packages were addressed to the 'Head of Household' rather than the name of the respondent. It was reasoned that this would not only add

psychological reassurance, but also reduce redundancy. Mailed questionnaires addressed to specific individuals often fail to reach their target because the respondent has moved. Packages addressed to the head of household, it was felt, would ensure that they would be opened regardless of who happened to be occupying the dwelling at the time of mailing. Unfortunately, the presence of an address in a telephone directory is no assurance that mail is delivered door to door. In fact, it transpired that, out of all six subsamples, only Sherwood Park enjoyed door to door mail delivery at the time the questionnaire was administered. And since the packages were not provided with respondents' names the Post Office had no alternative but to return the first batch that was mailed out. Consequently, nearly 60 percent of the packages had to be cross checked with the master lists (which fortunately were complete with names and matching addresses) and respondents' names placed on them. An alternative solution offered by the Post Office was to use the respondents' box number; but since few were given in the telephone directory the suggestion was discarded. This 'urban' assumption cost a considerable amount of time and additional postage.

The respondent was issued the following materials:

1. Questionnaire identified only by the community ID number.
2. One return mailing envelope, pre-addressed and postage pre-paid.
3. One 'confirmation card', pre-addressed and postage pre-paid, and with respondent's name and/or address placed on reverse side by the researcher.
4. One covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey and with full instructions for completing the questionnaire. (These instructions were also placed on the questionnaire).

The Confirmation Card

Each questionnaire package was furnished with a 'confirmation card' which, when mailed back separately by the respondent at the same time as the completed questionnaire, identified those who had responded. The respondent's name and/or address were written on the card by the researcher to further reduce the possibility of the respondent being identified by the simple crosschecking of his/her handwriting on the card with that on his/her completed questionnaire. In short, assuming that the respondent did not personally identify the questionnaire in any way, anonymity was assured by the fact that his/her handwriting appeared on only one document.

In the experience of this study the utility of using confirmation cards appears to be negligible from the standpoint of cost savings. At best they may have reduced the minor irritation caused by sending second mailings to those who had already responded. Prior to issuing a second mailing a 10 percent differential between returned questionnaires and returned cards was noted; obviously it is not possible to report on the final differential. Several respondents either ignored or misunderstood the instructions and enclosed the card with their completed questionnaire.

Theoretically, the use of a confirmation card can reduce the cost of a mail survey by obviating the necessity of mailing subsequent packages to the entire sample. In this experience a net loss was realised by this technique. At 1977 postage rates the first mailing package cost 40 cents (including stamps and cost of questionnaire) for a total of \$622.00. The second mailing amounted to 986 packages at a unit cost of 28 cents, for a total of \$276.08. The gross savings realised by sending 569 fewer packages in the second mailing was thus \$159.32. However, since a non selective second mailing would not have utilized confirmation cards in the first place, the cost of these cards must be deducted from the gross savings.

Since postage for 1,555 cards included in the first mailing amounted to \$186.60 (cost of cards not included) it appears, in this instance, that they created a net loss of \$27.28.

Precontact of Respondents

Studies relating to the problems of non response in survey questionnaires have appeared from time to time. Several findings distilled by Linsky indicate that contact with respondents prior to forwarding a mailed questionnaire tends to increase the response rate.¹ This type of contact not only identifies the researcher and/or his co-workers, but also permits a more complete explanation of the project and its goals and enables the respondent to ask questions. With some qualifications, postcard enclosures and follow-up letters were also found to increase response rates. More notably, a study by Mitchell revealed a significant improvement in the return rate for surveys that assured the respondents' anonymity.²

The utility of precontacting respondents as a stimulus to response was empirically tested during administration of the survey instrument. In this instance the technique was modified by having the principal researcher hand deliver a proportion of the sample, explain the purpose of the survey to the respondents, and request them to mail back the completed questionnaires at their earliest convenience. The community of Spruce Grove was selected for this experiment. For comparative purpose the subsample was split into two equal halves by extracting every other

¹ Arnold S. Linsky, "Stimulating Responses to Mailed Questionnaires: A Review," The Public Opinion Quarterly 39 (1975), pp. 82-101.

² W. Mitchell, Jr., "Factors Affecting the Rates of Return on Mailed Questionnaires", Journal of the American Statistical Association, December (1939), pp. 683-692.

number from the sample drawn by the computer. One half was mailed out together with the other five subsamples; the other half was delivered door-to-door by the researcher. All but three questionnaires were administered by repeatedly returning to the address until the prospective respondent was personally contacted. This took nearly two weeks.

Following the second mailing, returns from the 170 hand delivered questionnaires totalled 64 (a 38 percent return). Of the 170 questionnaires mailed, 78 (46 percent) were returned. A number of reasons for this unexpected differential can be suggested, including the possibility that respondents may feel more reassured by the impersonal nature of a mailed questionnaire.

Response Rates

Second mailings of the complete questionnaire package (less the confirmation card) were forwarded to those whose confirmation card has not been received within three weeks following the first mailing. Due to the fact that the questionnaires were not individually identified no attempt was made to determine percentage gains achieved by using a second mailing. Total response after two mailings was 757 (49 percent). Table 3.1 indicates the subsample size and rate of return for each sample community.

Table 3.1

SAMPLE SIZE AND RESPONSE RATE FOR TOTAL AND SUBSAMPLE

	Total	Bon Accord	Morinville	Spruce Grove	Sherwood Park	Devon	New Sarepta
Sample Size	1,555	160	250	340	400	285	120
Response Rate	757 (49%)*	79 (49%)	116 (46%)	142 (42%)	225 (56%)	139 (40%)	56 (47%)

* Rounded

Construction of the Survey Questionnaire

The survey questionnaire administered to the six sample communities was designed to serve two functions: 1. to gather data for the socioeconomic profile, and 2. to generate a series of questions representing each of the five areas of concern discussed in the previous chapter, and to procure the necessary information for the operationalization of socioeconomic status and the other five independent variables. Several questions served a dual descriptive-inferential function. Those that did were designed so that they could be recoded according to each specific function.

In terms of instrument design, a deliberate attempt was made to use 'forced answer' responses, except where this strategy was not practicable. Closed-ended questions containing a nonspecified option category, such as 'other', were avoided. As Babbie points out, the adequacy of closed-ended questions depends largely upon the structuring of responses.¹ When these are exhaustive and unambiguous they provide for greater uniformity throughout the sample. Moreover, they facilitate easier coding. Open-ended response categories and nonspecified options in otherwise closed-ended questions invite abuse from respondents. Few prospective respondents appear to be more than marginally interested in the questionnaire they have been asked to complete, when difficulty is encountered in choosing an appropriate response they will often take the easy way out, if such an option is available. On the other hand, respondents have been known to bypass a question when they feel that none of the totally closed-ended categories are appropriate.

¹ Earle R. Babbie, Survey Research Methods (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1973), p. 141.

Variables Relating to the Six Areas of Concern

The majority of the questions designed to represent the areas of concern were structured with ordinal response categories. Attitudes, and even behavior patterns, can at best be arbitrarily assigned a quantitative value; non numerical ordinal categories offer the respondent a selection of readily identifiable responses that, according to Babbie, may be less obtuse than numerical scales.¹ Variables which, it was predetermined, would have to be collapsed for analytical purposes were designed with nominal categories.

The Dependent Variables

A total of 33 questions, designed to function as operational indicators of the five areas of concern, were incorporated into the survey questionnaire. Most were based on hypothetical issues relating to the local community environment, and for purposes of multivariate analysis were considered to be dependent variables. With the exception of several questions concerning the man-made environment they were treated discretely. All have been grouped in Chapter Five according to the areas of concern that they represent; they will herewith be briefly discussed in the same fashion.

Locational Motivation-- Respondents were asked two questions relating to the reasons why people locate at the fringe. The first question asked respondents to declare the major reason for their decision to locate in that community. The second question asked to what extent the community's spatial proximity to Edmonton had influenced their locational choice.

Attitudes Toward the Man-Made Environment-- To examine the impact of social, economic, and demographic factors on the range of environment perception, eighteen hypothetical development proposals were incorporated into the

¹ Ibid., pp. 269-270.

questionnaire. Essentially, these represented two fairly distinct types of construction: industrial/residential, and what might be called 'community facilities'. In order to control for respondent selectivity, they were deliberately mixed in terms of their assumed contentious qualities. For example, single family dwelling construction may be considered less threatening to the community's social and physical environment than the construction of an oil and gas processing plant. The dubious possibility of many such proposals being built adjacent to residential development is not an issue here; of central concern was the type of response that these proposals generated.

It was decided not to explore the relationship of the various independent variables in terms of those who supported specific proposals, and those who rejected them. Rather, the degrees of definitiveness-indifference were examined. This decision was inspired by the literature that, it will be recalled, suggests that individuals within the same social class or socioeconomic group often interpret community-related issues according to their own predispositions and vested interests.¹ In light of these findings, it would appear that attitudinal differences of this nature are more appropriately viewed along the dimension of 'concern', rather than 'opinion'. In other words, the analytical focus should be upon the strength, instead of upon the type, of response.

Since the literature also suggests that certain factors mediate the 'range' of environment perception, each of the 18 questions was split into two halves, each forming a discrete variable. The first part asked respondents how they would react to the proposals if they were to be located

¹ See, for example, Robert K. Merton, Op. Cit., pp. 387-420, and W.M. Dobriner, Op. Cit., Chapter V.

in the immediate vicinity of their homes. The second part solicited a response to the same proposals located 'elsewhere' in the community. The wording here was deliberately diffuse in order to permit respondents to individually conceptualize the changes that the community might undergo as a result of these developments.

Three other questions relating to the local man-made environment were used to represent this area of concern. The first asked respondents what type of community growth they would prefer; four alternatives were offered. The second asked how much overall growth they felt their community should experience. The third question asked whether they would object to their community being eventually linked with Edmonton by urban development.

Concern for the Community-- Respondents were asked a total of four questions relating to community concern. Two questions involved the existing role of the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission in the Edmonton regional community system. The first asked respondents whether they were aware of the ERPC and its work, insofar as it related to their community. The second asked respondents whether they had been or were presently involved in the citizen participation aspects of the ERPC's long range planning strategies. It was reasoned here that those who were vitally concerned about their community's future would at least be aware of the Agency's work.

The third question asked respondents to what extent they were concerned about the planned growth and development of their community. In a fourth related question, respondents were asked whether they felt that their opinions as individual citizens could influence the decision-making process in regional and community planning.

Community Involvement-- Three questions were designed to represent resident involvement in community activities. Two were concerned with local political

affairs. The first asked respondents to what extent they were involved in the function and performance of their local council, and local government generally. The second asked to what extent they were interested in these activities. The third question asked respondents to what extent they were involved in local non political activities, such as charities, Boy Scouts/Girl Guides, etc.

Residential Satisfaction-- Three questions were used as indicators of residential satisfaction. One question asked respondents whether they felt that the local community was compatible with their values and lifestyle. A further question asked whether respondents felt that their immediate neighbors belonged to the same social class as themselves.¹ Lastly, respondents were asked to what extent their decision to reside in that community had affected their social position.

The independent Variables

It will be recalled that six factors tend to be associated with community-related attitude/behavior differences: socioeconomic status, age of respondent, commuter status, length of residence in the community, parent status, and prior accommodation. For the purpose of the exploratory analysis discussed in Chapter Five, all will be employed as independent variables; this chapter will explore both the strength and the nature of their relationship to the 18 variables representing the five areas of concern. The operationalization of these variables as statistical indicators will also be described in Chapter Five.

¹ Deborah Hensler, Op. Cit.



Towards a Socioeconomic Status Scale

Operationalizing Social Class

Being essentially what MacCorquodale and Meehl have termed a 'hypothetical construct', social class cannot be measured of itself.¹ As such, it is an entirely subjective assessment made by the actors themselves. Olsen points out that while many social scientists speak of social class in empirical terms, they are in fact referring to social strata.² These are simply arbitrarily defined classifications imposed upon relatively continuous status hierarchies. Moreover, their application is highly circumscribed:

'The essential point is that social strata are defined only for research or theoretical purposes as a means of temporarily simplifying what are in reality relatively continuous status hierarchies.'³

The extent to which 'status' can be expected to represent social class depends largely upon the unit of analysis and the specific stratification dimension used. Documented studies relating to indicators of social class are legion, one of the earliest being that of Chapin, in 1933.⁴ Kahl and Davis, in a comparative study of several SES indexes, point to the fact that investigators have seldom agreed upon the precise definition of the term 'socioeconomic status'.⁵ This, they feel, has hindered progress

¹ Kenneth MacCorquodale and Paul E. Meehl, "On a Distinction Between Hypothetical Constructs and Intervening Variables", Psychological Review 55 (1948), pp. 95-107.

² Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), p. 195.

³ Ibid., p. 196.

⁴ Reported in George A. Lundberg, "The Measurement of Socioeconomic Status", American Sociological Review 5 (1940), pp. 29-39.

⁵ Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socioeconomic Status," American Sociological Review 20 (1955), pp. 317-325.



towards a standardized datum point. They conclude that the core of 'status' is a culturally defined, group-shared style of life. One of the poorest measures of SES, according to the authors, is income:

'Values intervene between the receipt of a paycheck and its expenditure in conspicuous consumption. A satisfied blue collar worker and an ambitious clerk may have the same income but a different mode of living. The former is likely to have a bigger house in a cheaper neighborhood, to spend more on automobiles, to save less, and to have working class friends and beliefs.'¹

Of the nineteen status dimensions examined, composites of occupation plus other occupation-related variables, such as education and self identification, enjoyed the greatest consensus. Notwithstanding, a wide variety of alternatives have been suggested. Vaughn, for example, describes an index based upon the ownership of material assets such as telephones, homes, automobiles, plus the occupation of the chief wage earner in the home and his/her education.² Olsen, while representing contemporary opinion that socioeconomic status is appropriately considered in terms of education, occupation, and income, emphasizes that this is only one of several major stratification dimensions. Other include public influence, reputation, ethnicity, style of life, and intellectual level. He also points out that the phenomena of power, privilege, and prestige cut across all of these dimensions, and probably enter into each of them to some extent.³

¹ Ibid., p. 322.

² Charles L. Vaughn, "A Scale for Assessing Socioeconomic Status in Survey Research," The Public Opinion Quarterly 22 (1958), pp. 19-34.

³ Marvin E. Olsen, Op. Cit., p. 193.

The work of Olsen, King,¹ and the authors discussed in the previous chapter, suggests that socioeconomic status is an appropriate stratification dimension with respect to the phenomena being studied here. Consequently, it was necessary to construct a composite scale by which respondents could be ranked. Attempts at socioeconomic scaling are not new; most have taken the form of occupational rankings based on the prestige accorded them by a public opinion poll. While not of themselves SES scales in the strict sense of the definition, there is some interrelatedness between the two. Education, occupation, and income tend to be significantly and positively related; thus scales of occupational prestige have been regarded as fairly reliable predictors of education and income.

North and Hatt, under the auspices of the United States National Opinion Research Center (NORC), developed a scale in 1947, based on prestige evaluations of about ninety occupations.² Since then a number of modifications have been applied to the scale and it has been used in several countries around the world. The literature, suggests, however, that prestige accorded occupations tends to be culturally defined; in other words, different cultures place different values upon certain occupations. Because of this factor, it was considered necessary to develop a scale that addressed itself to the Canadian cultural experience, which appears to vary from that of the United States in several areas.

Three notable approaches to occupational scaling have been reported in Canada during the past decade. In 1966 Pineo and Porter utilized

¹ Morton B. King, Jr., "Socioeconomic Status and Sociometric Choice," Social Forces 39 (1961), pp. 199-206.

² C.C. North and P.K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Class Status, and Power, (ed.) Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 411-426.

national sample evaluations of occupational titles to generate a scale based essentially upon their relative social standing.¹ While it undoubtedly represents a fairly reliable hierarchy of occupations it is constrained by the fact that not all of the Canadian census occupational titles are represented. The authors also encountered difficulty in the sampling procedure and with some of the titles themselves, which were adapted from 'similar' American titles. Pineo, Porter, and McRoberts published a monograph in 1977, describing their attempts to render the Census Canada occupation codes (C.C.D.O.'s) more useable to sociologists.² Their major argument is that the occupational ranking under the C.C.D.O. system becomes extremely sensitive to the actual occupation declared by the respondent. As the authors point out, "a code cannot be better than the responses which go into it".³

One of the more successful attempts at producing a socioeconomic scale based on occupational ranking to date has been that of Blishen. Utilizing practically all the Canadian Census occupational titles, he ranked them on the basis of a simple function of the distribution of education and income among their incumbents.⁴ This scale was updated in

¹ Peter C. Pineo and John Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 4 (1967), pp. 24-40.

² Peter C. Pineo, John Porter, and Hugh A. McRoberts, "The 1971 Census and the Socioeconomic Classification of Occupations," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14 (1977), pp. 91-102.

³ Ibid., p. 92.

⁴ Bernard Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 24 (1958), pp. 519-531.

1967,¹ using 1961 Canadian census data, and again in 1976² with data from the 1971 census. In the former, Blishen adapted parts of the Pineo-Porter scale by assigning approximations of their prestige scores to the census occupational titles. To achieve this he computed regression equations, with the Pineo-Porter scores for the 88 occupations that overlapped the census list operating as dependent variables. The resulting unstandardized regression weights (+.347 for education; +.202 for income, and an intercept of 24.62) were then applied to each of the 320 occupations obtained from the 1961 Canadian census. A scale was then developed from the ranking of these index scores.

Blishen's latest revision of this work involved modification of the regression weights in keeping with the more recent (1971 census) information on national incomes and provincial peculiarities in elementary and secondary schooling. After matching the 88 occupational titles employed in the 1961 scale with the 88 equivalent titles employed in the 1971 census, Blishen found that 85 showed a reasonable fit. Consequently, he used these as the basis for the revised scale. Regression coefficients produced from computations with these 85 titles are +.3677 for education, +.3047 for income, with 12.260 as the intercept.

The 1967 and 1976 Blishen scales deviate from his earlier strategy of basing scores on mean education and income figures. Rather, the percentage of males in each occupation with reported incomes in excess of \$5,000 and \$6,500 respectively, during the preceding twelve month period

¹ Bernard Blishen, "A Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 4(1967), pp. 41-53.

² Bernard R. Blishen and Hugh A. McRoberts, "A Revised Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1976), pp. 71-79.

was used. In terms of education, the 1967 scale was based on data obtained from the total enumeration of the labor force; the terms of reference defined education levels as the highest grade or year of schooling ever attended- with a minimum criterion of four years of high school. The 1976 scale education variable is expressed as the percentage of males who worked in an occupation in 1970 and who had attended at least grade twelve if the province of schooling was New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, British Columbia, the Yukon, or outside Canada; or who had attended a minimum of grade eleven if the province of schooling was Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or Alberta.

For several reasons the 1967 Blishen scale was preferred for the purpose of this study. Firstly, it is based on occupations characteristic of males in the labor force. Since the sampling methodology specifically sought out respondents who were 'heads of household', it was predicted that, in the context of the communities being sampled, they would be predominantly males. This assumption was supported by the sex distribution of the sample, which showed that only 9.1 percent were females, 6 percent of whom could not, for one reason or another, be included in the SES scaling, mostly for failing to complete one or more of the questions critical to the SES composite score.

Secondly, the 1967 Blishen scale was extrapolated from a slightly larger base of occupations. Moreover, the income variable is based on non farm households; Blishen's revised scale based the income variable upon a total enumeration of the labor force. Again, the sampling frame adopted for this study does not entirely replicate the larger society; only those who lived within the corporate limits of the community were sampled, which excludes most of the active farming population. Occupational data from the sample revealed that 3.2 percent declared themselves as farmers; approxi-

imately one-third of these listed an additional occupation.

Lastly, Blishen correlated the scores generated from the 1967 scale with those produced by the 1976 revision and achieved a coefficient of .97, which in terms of R^2 indicates a 94 percent level of predictability between the two.

The regression weights used by Blishen in his 1967 index were adapted to the income and education data and the list of occupations gathered by the survey questionnaire. Respondents were asked to declare the highest level of education attained (See the questionnaire reproduced in the Appendix) and their individual gross annual income. Two questions were designed to reveal information about the respondent's occupation. One, which asked the respondent to place his/her full-time occupation into one of several category options, was used in the social profiles discussed in the following chapter. The other asked the respondent to declare the nature of his/her employment. A separate question determined whether the respondent was or was not self employed.

The survey yielded 127 fairly discrete occupations, 124 of which were useable in the scale. Corresponding education and income values for each individual occupations were subjected to Blishen's regression weights and intercept to produce a composite score according to the following equation:

$$SES = ((E \cdot r) + (I \cdot r) + i)$$

where S = Socioeconomic status score

r = Blishen's regression weight

E = Education value

I = Income value

i = Blishen's intercept

When these composite scores were correlated with the scores for the occupations on Blishen's index they yielded a validity coefficient of .72. In view of the circumstances this was considered satisfactory and it was decided to utilize a scale generated from the survey data. The literature suggests a high degree of occupational prestige stability between subgroups over time. In 1963, for example, NORC replicated its 1947 study of occupational status and achieved a coefficient of .99. This should not obscure the fact that certain individual occupations, such as 'nuclear scientist', have experienced prestige changes as a result of changing technology and social values. Several presently extant occupations did not exist in 1947. Technology, in fact, appears to have been a more significant agent of changes in occupational prestige than social values.

One of the major reasons for not using the Blishen index in totality was that it failed to account for several occupations already mentioned. By adapting his regression weights it was possible to generate a score for all the occupations declared in the survey. None of the occupations omitted by Blishen appeared in large numbers; most of them not at all, although slightly less than 3 percent of the respondents declared themselves to be practising farmers.

Another crucial consideration was to operationalize the SES index into a scale. As Blishen found, this can be problematic since equal class intervals are impossible to attain. His 1951 scale was divided into seven classes on a purely arbitrary basis with 'the investigator's awareness of the relative prestige ranking of occupation as a major factor in the classification'. Two other alternatives are suggested: using the deciles for occupations when ordered on the index, and using the tens digits of the index values themselves.

It was at this stage that the index methodology of this study

deviated significantly from that of Blishen. In tying his composite scores to a particular occupation Blishen was obliged to average the various education and income values derived from each individual declaring that specific occupation. This procedure was followed when the occupational scores generated from the survey data were correlated with the Blishen index. However, in operationalizing the index used in this study it was decided to establish a scale based on the combined values of education and income. All scores that matched, after submitting them to Blishen's regression weights, were grouped regardless of the individual occupations they may have belonged to. In other words this scale, unlike that developed by Blishen which was tied to occupations, was tied to the weighted values of income and education. Essentially, this means that the composite scores did not have to be averaged. Instead, they were ranked and class intervals established on the basis of frequencies found within each composite score. Ten class intervals were drawn with approximately 70 frequencies in each, varying somewhat due to the inadvisability of splitting frequencies within a composite score. These scores, their frequencies, and location of the class intervals are reproduced in Table 3.2.

One factor that became immediately apparent during this operation was the small spread of scores. This is undoubtedly the product of a rather homogeneous population, in terms of SES, in the communities sampled, and is fairly consistent with the literature in this regard. A major problem lies in developing a scale that is sensitive to this type of situation. Selecting an appropriate number of class intervals was a relevant issue here; after testing several alternatives, it was concluded that small score spreads dictated a larger number of class intervals than would otherwise be required.

Table 3.2

THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCALE: COMPOSITE SCORES,
FREQUENCIES, AND CLASS INTERVALS,
TOTAL SAMPLE

SES Composite Scores	F	Percent	Class
29.96 - 28.92	59	8.4*	1 (high)
28.90 - 28.58	89	12.6	2
28.55 - 28.23	74	10.5	3
28.20 - 27.97	74	10.5	4
27.94 - 27.71	69	9.8	5
27.65 - 27.42	66	9.3	6
27.36 - 27.16	72	10.2	7
27.11 - 26.76	67	9.5	8
26.67 - 26.32	77	11.0	9
26.27 - 25.17	<u>79</u>	<u>11.2</u>	10 (low)
	<u>706</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

* Rounded

$\bar{X} = 27.60$; $Mo = 28.20$; Skewdness: $-.145$

CHAPTER FOUR

A PROFILE OF THE SIX COMMUNITIES AND THEIR RESPONDENTS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief profile of the six sample communities and the people who live in them. Most of the data will be discussed at both the total and subsample levels. Several variables will be subjected to cross tabulation and correlational analysis to determine any systematic relationship to the sample communities.

Population Trends

It can be seen from Table 4.1 that nearly all the six sample communities have experienced accelerated population expansion in recent years. Bon Accord, Devon, and Spruce Grove essentially doubled their populations between 1971 and 1976. Unofficial Edmonton Regional Planning Commission data indicate that this trend is continuing.

Table 4.1

POPULATION TRENDS OF EDMONTON AND THE SIX SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1951 - 1976*

Community	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976
Edmonton (City)	170,929	246,561	320,598	376,925	438,152	461,361
Bon Accord	-**	141	175	147	332	867
Devon	842	1,429	1,418	1,283	1,468	2,764
Morinville	892	957	935	995	1,475	2,059
New Sarepta	-**	-**	184	173	202	231
Sherwood Park	-**	-**	2,923	6,339	14,283	26,295
Spruce Grove	-**	309	465	598	3,029	6,827

* Reproduced from ERPC data.

** Data not available from source.

The six sample fringe communities combined enjoyed an 88 percent population increase between 1971 and 1976. This compares with 5.3 percent for the City of Edmonton. These data coincide with the sharp increase in housing and land costs within Edmonton's corporate boundaries during the same period. While land costs have also increased in most of Edmonton's fringe communities, they do not appear to have done so at the same rate. Communities that have been successful in annexing parcels of land for the purpose of sub-division are now demonstrating the most rapid population expansion. However, there is a possibility that these growth characteristics may be partly a function of travelling distance from Edmonton. Table 4.2 shows that there is a significant negative correlation between the population of the sample communities and their respective road distances from Edmonton.¹

Table 4.2

CORRELATION BETWEEN POPULATION AND ROAD
DISTANCE FROM EDMONTON FOR THE SIX SAMPLE COMMUNITIES

Community	Population (1976)	Distance from Edmonton*
Bon Accord	867	37 km
Devon	2,764	35 km
Morinville	2,059	38 km
New Sarepta	231	48 km
Sherwood Park	26,295	14 km
Spruce Grove	6,827	26 km

* Shortest distance by road from the center of the community to Edmonton's Central Business District, in kilometers.

R = -.898; R² = .806; sig = .007.

¹ Edmonton's Central Business District (CBD) was used as a standardization measure in these calculations.

The Sample Communities

Bon Accord

The name 'Bon Accord' derives from the motto of the Scottish city of Aberdeen. Mardon¹ claims that it was used as a password by the Aberdonians during a battle in which they repatriated the castle from the English. It means "Happy to meet, sorry to part, happy to meet again". A school erected in the area in 1896 first used the name, which was later extended to the post office and small community that arose around it.

Being approximately 37 kilometers from Edmonton, Bon Accord has not developed as rapidly as other communities in the sample. In 1974 the municipality approved a 110-lot residential subdivision proposal; current services are capable of accommodating in excess of two thousand people. The 1976 population stood at 867.

Plate 1



Plate 2



Plates 1 and 2. Many of Edmonton's developing fringe communities lack adequate retail/service facilities. Bon Accord: proposed development (left) and present reality (right).

¹ Biographical data were taken from Ernest Mardon, Community Names of Alberta (University of Lethbridge, 1973).



Devon

This community owes its origins to the Imperial Oil Company, which gave the town its name after the Leduc oil field discovery in 1947. The name 'Devon' is taken from the geological formation in which the oil has been found.

Population levels remained fairly constant between the mid 1950's and 1971. Since then, land subdivision and new housing construction, both single family and multiple family dwellings, has increased the town's population to over 2,700. It is connected with Edmonton by first class two-lane and four-lane divided highway. Distance between Devon and Edmonton's CBD is approximately 35 kilometers.

Plate 3. Mainstreet:
Devon



Morinville

According to Mardon, Morinville was founded by Abbe Jean Baptiste in 1891. He was born at St. Paul-de-Joliette in Quebec and studied at Montreal, where he was ordained in 1884. In 1894 he published a monograph

describing the agricultural potential of north west Canada.

Most of the original settlers came from the Walloon area of Belgium. Today, Morinville is still regarded as a French speaking community, although rapid in-migration may now be defusing this tradition to some extent. The community lies 38 kilometers from Edmonton's CBD by first class highway. Population in 1976 stood at 2,059. Considerable residential development has taken place since 1973, practically all of it being comprised of single family dwellings.



Plate 4. Morinville:
The old and the new.
A street sign in
Morinville.

New Sarepta

This community, which was originally known as Little Hay Lakes, was renamed in 1905 after the biblical city of Sion, mentioned in the Gospel of St. Luke. It is the smallest of the six communities sampled, in terms of population, which in 1976 stood at 231. The community has experienced land annexing problems. Several years ago two proposals involving 200 acres were under consideration, but financing difficulties over a needed public

water system has impeded extensive development.

Sherwood Park

Developed during the early 1960's for the purpose of housing Edmonton's population overflow, this community enjoys the distinction of remaining unincorporated despite a current population of over 26,000. It is the largest of the six sample communities and possesses a well defined retail/service infrastructure. Since 1961 it has doubled its population approximately every five years; between 1961 and 1973 Sherwood Park and St. Albert jointly contributed over 83 percent of the Edmonton subregion population growth.¹ Sherwood Park is also closest to Edmonton of all the subsamples, being approximately 14 kilometers from Edmonton's CBD.

Plate 5. Sherwood Park's well developed retail facilities. One of several shopping centers in the community.



¹ ERPC Data.

Spruce Grove

When settlers first arrived in this area in the late 19th century they were impressed by a stand of large spruce trees. A post office was opened in 1894 and took its name from the grove of trees.

Spruce Grove began to develop rapidly towards the end of the 1960's. In 1966 the population stood at 598; in 1971 it had risen to 3,029, and by 1976 it had reached 6,827. Only 26 kilometers from Edmonton's CBD it is highly accessible via four-lane divided highway. Typically, most of the new residential construction began with single family dwellings; more recently this has expanded to include multiple family units and mobile home parks.



Plate 6. A large mobile home park in Spruce Grove.

Age and Sex Distributions

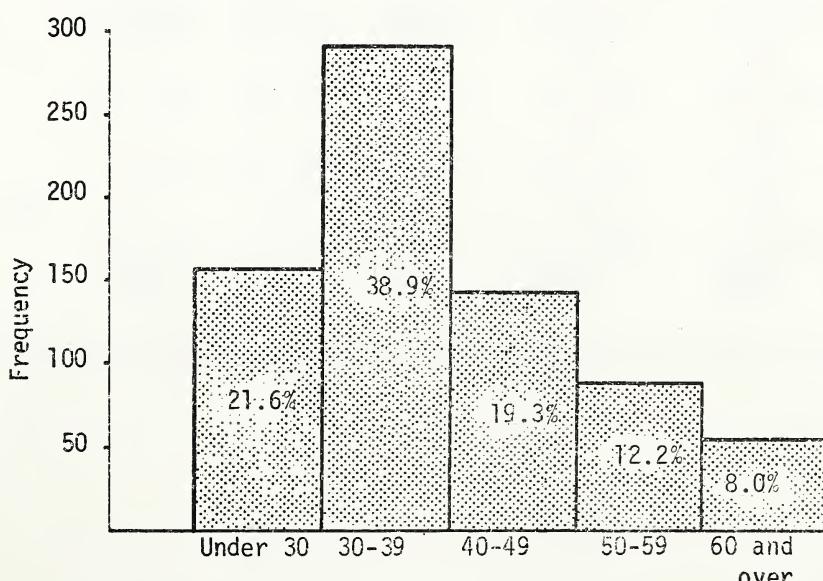
Sex of Respondents

Of those sampled, 89.7 percent were males; 1.2 percent of the sample failed to complete this question. These figures support the sampling methodology and the prediction that the majority of heads of households in this type of sampling frame would be males.

Age of Respondents

If the six sample communities can be taken as indicative of Edmonton's adult fringe population, it appears that its age distribution coincides with that of many new North American suburbs. Table 4.3 shows that this type of distribution is skewed to the left, leaving the older age groups, particularly the sixty and over, somewhat underrepresented. In terms of the total sample, nearly 60 percent (59.6) of the respondents were under forty.

Table 4.3
AGE DISTRIBUTION: TOTAL SAMPLE



Employing the same criteria, Bon Accord had the 'youngest' respondents of the six communities; nearly 70 percent (69.6) were under the age of forty. Spruce Grove, however, enjoyed the distinction of having the largest proportion of respondents between the ages of 30 and 39. New Sarepta had the 'oldest' respondents: nearly 18 percent were sixty or over, compared to 9.4 percent for the total sample. Generally, all six communities revealed a small proportion of respondents over sixty.

Average (\bar{x}) age for the total sample was 39.4; median age was 36.1. The modal age was 30 (5.8 percent). Age distribution breakdowns for the six communities are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4
AGE DISTRIBUTION: THE SIX COMMUNITIES

Age Groups	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Under 30	21 (26.6%)	33 (23.7%)	35 (30.2%)	9 (16.1%)	38 (16.9%)	25 (17.8%)
30-39	34 (43.0%)	48 (34.5%)	31 (26.7%)	11 (19.6%)	95 (42.2%)	71 (50.0%)
40-49	11 (13.9%)	22 (15.8%)	24 (20.7%)	10 (17.9%)	56 (24.9%)	21 (14.8%)
50-59	8 (10.1%)	21 (15.1%)	12 (10.3%)	15 (26.8%)	22 (9.8%)	13 (9.2%)
60 and over	4 (5.1%)	13 (9.4%)	12 (10.3%)	10 (17.9%)	11 (4.9%)	10 (7.0%)
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

These data, and those of the following section, indicate that Edmonton's fringe communities are largely populated by young, married couples with children. The literature suggests that the majority of urban married couples in Canada have produced children, if they intend to do so, by the time the male spouse has reached the age of thirty.¹ Thus, the need for adequate accommodation becomes critical when couples reach their early thirties and offspring begin school. These factors possibly explain the high proportion of respondents in the 30-39 age group.

Marriage and the Family

Marital Status of Respondents

The majority of respondents were either married or had been married at some point in time. Ninety percent indicated that they were presently married; 2.8 percent were either divorced or legally separated; 3.2 percent were widowed, while only 2.5 percent of the total sample were single at the time of the survey.

Table 4.5 shows that Spruce Grove had the greatest proportion of married respondents of the six sample communities; Devon had the lowest proportion.

Number of Children

The survey questionnaire defined 'children' as those still living at home who were under the age of 18 on their last birthday. Seventy-nine percent of the total respondents declared having children still living at home. The average for the total sample (\bar{x}) was 1.6. The modal category was 2 (32.8 percent). New Sarepta, which had the highest average age

¹ See, for example, Frederick Elkin, The Family in Canada (Ottawa: The Vanier Institute of the Family, 1964), pp. 19-26.

Table 4.5
MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS: TOTAL AND SUBSAMPLES

Marital Status	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Single	19 (2.5%)	2 (2.5%)	3 (2.2%)	2 (1.7%)	-	9 (4.0%)	3 (2.1%)
Married	683 (90.2%)	71 (89.9%)	122 (87.8%)	105 (90.5%)	51 (91.1%)	201 (89.3%)	133 (93.7%)
Divorced/Separated	22 (2.9%)	1 (1.7%)	7 (5.0%)	3 (2.6%)	1 (1.8%)	8 (3.6%)	2 (1.4%)
Widowed	24 (3.2%)	3 (3.8%)	6 (4.3%)	4 (3.4%)	3 (5.4%)	6 (2.7%)	2 (1.4%)
Non Response	9 (1.2%)	2 (2.5%)	1 (0.7%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (0.4%)	2 (1.4%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(38 years) of the six communities, also had the highest proportion of respondents declaring no children (30.4 percent). Table 4.6 shows the frequencies for this variable at both the total and subsample levels.

Size of Household

The average (\bar{x}) household size for the total sample was 3.6. The modal category for the total sample was 4 (30.9 percent). Only New Sarepta was atypical in the latter regard, with a modal category of 2 (30.4 percent).

Table 4.6

NUMBER OF CHILDREN STILL LIVING AT HOME BY
COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Number Children	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Serepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
0	174 (23%)	19 (24.1%)	32 (23.0%)	26 (22.4%)	17 (30.4%)	47 (20.9%)	33 (23.2%)
1	139 (18.4%)	18 (22.8%)	24 (17.3%)	19 (16.4%)	11 (19.6%)	45 (20.0%)	22 (15.5%)
2	248 (32.8%)	24 (30.4%)	50 (36.0%)	33 (28.4%)	14 (25.0%)	78 (34.7%)	49 (34.5%)
3	106 (14.0%)	11 (13.9%)	13 (9.4%)	17 (14.7%)	8 (14.3%)	36 (16.0%)	21 (14.8%)
4 and over	45 (5.9%)	1 (1.3%)	19 (5.0%)	11 (9.6%)	2 (3.6%)	13 (5.7%)	11 (7.7%)
Non Response	45 (5.9%)	6 (7.6%)	13 (9.4%)	10 (8.6%)	4 (7.1%)	6 (2.7%)	6 (4.2%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Socioeconomic Characteristics of
the RespondentsSocioeconomic Status

One of the most notable characteristics to emerge from the empirical component of this study is the homogeneity of the total sample in terms of socioeconomic status scores. The spread between the highest and the lowest on the SES scale developed for analytical purposes was less than five percentage points (4.79). This may be interpreted as indicating a high degree of similarity among respondents from the point of education levels and incomes. Further support of this argument is offered in the section dealing with accommodation.

An analysis of variance was undertaken to determine whether significant variation of average SES scores existed among the sample communities. In view of the morphological dissimilarities among these communities this was considered a distinct possibility. The ANOVA routine yielded a significant F ratio at greater than the .05 level. Thus, it can be concluded that significant differences exist. As the following cross tabulation shows (Table 4.7), the two atypical communities in this regard are Sherwood Park, which has the highest average SES scores of the six subsamples; and New Sarepta, which has the lowest. It can be reiterated here that Sherwood Park is the closest of the sample communities to Edmonton (14 km); it also has the largest population. Conversely, New Sarepta is farthest of the samples from Edmonton (48 km), and has the smallest population.

Table 4.7
CROSS TABULATION OF SES AND COMMUNITY

SES Scale	Community						Row Total
	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove	
1 (high)	3	7	2	3	37	7	59
2	6	10	10	1	25	19	71
3	7	13	8	2	31	13	74
4	7	19	11	6	24	8	75
5	5	16	12	2	24	10	69
6	10	16	9	0	17	15	67
7	6	12	9	5	22	18	72
8	12	9	8	6	16	16	67
9	10	12	16	5	17	18	78
10 & over	3	15	21	21	4	11	80
Column Total	74	129	106	51	217	135	712

$$\chi^2 = 141.65; \text{ 45 df.}; \text{ Sig.} = .000.$$

Incomes

On the basis of the total sample, these respondents may be broadly described as 'middle income', which, in view of the extremely high incidence of single family dwelling ownership, is to be expected. Just over half of the respondents were earning between \$15,000 and \$24,999 per annum; 2.2 percent enjoyed an individual annual income of over \$49,999. Table 4.8 shows that only two of the six sample communities had respondents with a modal income category of between \$20,000 and \$24,999.

Table 4.8

MODAL INCOME CATEGORIES FOR THE SIX SAMPLE COMMUNITIES
AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Community	Modal Income Category	% of Total
Bon Accord	\$15,000 - \$19,999	34.2
Morinville	\$10,000 - \$14,999	24.1
Spruce Grove	\$20,000 - \$24,999	22.5
Sherwood Park	\$20,000 - \$24,999	28.9
Devon	\$15,000 - \$19,999	30.9
New Sarepta	\$10,000 - \$14,999	33.9
TOTAL Sample	\$15,000 - \$19,999	24.7

Education

Just under 18 percent of the total respondents had graduated from technical/vocational college, while 10.6 percent had graduated from university with a minimum baccalaureate degree. If the fact that a further 14.8 percent had some technical/vocational college experience is taken into account, it appears that a substantial proportion of those who have been

exposed to higher education programs have acquired technical/trade skills. Sherwood Park had the greatest proportion of university graduates: 28 percent compared to 12.7 percent for the total sample. New Sarepta was the only sample community with no university graduates among its respondents; however, it had the highest proportion of technical/vocational college graduates: 19.6 percent compared to 17.7 percent for the total sample. Table 4.9 shows the distribution of selected types of advanced education among the sample communities.

Table 4.9

SELECTIVE COMPARISONS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Some Tech/ Voc. Col.	112 (14.8%)	13 (16.5%)	29 (20.9%)	18 (15.5%)	4 (7.1%)	28 (12.4%)	20 (14.1%)
Tech/Voc Graduate	134 (17.7%)	11 (13.9%)	28 (20.1%)	21 (18.1%)	11 (19.6%)	49 (19.1%)	20 (14.1%)
Some University	53 (7.0%)	6 (7.6%)	5 (3.6%)	7 (6.0%)	1 (1.8%)	23 (10.2%)	11 (7.7%)
University Graduate	122 (16.1%)	9 (11.4%)	21 (15.2%)	10 (8.6%)	-	63 (28.0%)	19 (13.3%)

Occupations

In terms of the total sample, a significant number of occupations represented what Kahl has described as the 'semi's' and the 'petties':

semiprofessionals and petty businessmen.¹ The former are typified by minor salaried administrative and semimanagerial positions, the latter by self employment in small entrepreneurial endeavours such as trucking and servicing. Wage-employed technical/trade occupations were well represented.

Mayer and Buckley concur with Kahl's terms of reference in claiming that lower middle class standing is represented (in the U.S.) by small businessmen, clerks and clerical workers, salespersons, minor (salaried) professionals, and semiprofessionals.² They also make the valid observation that the major class division in the United States, as in other Western industrialized societies, is that which can be found between the middle class as a whole and the working class.

'However, this contrast is less visible here than in other countries because a large part of the working class shares a 'white collar' style of life and accepts middle-class values and benefits. The latter situation holds especially for many craftsmen, foremen, and skilled mechanics, whose high wages nowadays exceed the salaries of many lower-middle-class white-collar employees and even of small businessmen. In many respects, therefore, the line that sets off the 'aristocracy of skilled labor' from the bulk of semi-skilled and unskilled manual laborers is more significant socio-logically than the dividing line between skilled craftsmen and lower-middle-class white-collar workers, which has become increasingly blurred in recent years.'³

Although in response to the survey question "In which of the following occupational categories would you place your present employment?", 30.5 percent of the respondents described themselves as salaried professionals, a closer examination of job descriptions given in response to a separate question (Question 28) indicated that many of these claims were inaccurate.

¹ Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957), p. 202.

² Kurt B. Mayer and Walter Buckley, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 83.

³ Ibid., p. 84.

A large number, in fact, were clerical positions. Table 4.10 shows that the second largest self assessed occupational category was that of 'manual worker' (15.7 percent), followed by 'businessman-large firm' (19.8 percent).

Table 4.10

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY FREQUENCIES BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

A complete list of respondents' job descriptions, as defined by Question 28 in the survey questionnaire, and their frequencies are included in Appendix A.

Employment of Spouses

Slightly less than one-third (32.3 percent) of the total respondents reported that additional income was being earned by their spouses. Since 90 percent of the total response were males and just over 90 percent declared themselves as being married, it can be assumed that most of this additional income was being earned by employed wives. New Sarepta had the lowest proportion of respondents reporting additional income (see Question 30 in the Survey Questionnaire) (28.6 percent); Morinville and Devon had the highest (both 34.9 percent). Since age is a significant factor in the relationship between married females and child-rearing, it is probable that job opportunities are less relevant here than the issue of whether a married female is in a position to work due to parental responsibilities. Further exploration was not possible since no direct information was obtained for respondents' spouses.

Place of Work

Over half of the respondents declared that their regular place of work was located within the corporate boundaries of Edmonton. A further 4.6 percent worked within one mile of Edmonton's corporate limits. Only 16 percent worked in the local community. One response category of this survey question that generated an unusually high proportion was that of 'elsewhere' (unqualified). There is a possibility that several itinerant occupations, such as long distance truck driving, train crew work, and commercial travelling, may have been placed in this category in error. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that other communities than Edmonton can

be regarded as job sources. Moreover, it is likely that a proportion of this category will be employed in site work outside the local community. Oil and gas well maintenance workers are two examples. Place of work categories and their frequencies for the total and subsample are given in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11
PLACE OF WORK BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Place of Work	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Within Edmonton	403 (53.2%)	38 (48.1%)	60 (43.2%)	45 (38.8%)	16 (28.6%)	163 (72.4%)	81 (57.0%)
Within 1 mile of Edmonton	35 (4.6%)	7 (8.9%)	-	7 (6.0%)	3 (5.4%)	15 (5.7%)	3 (2.1%)
In this Community	121 (16.0%)	10 (12.7%)	30 (21.6%)	29 (25.0%)	12 (21.4%)	17 (7.6%)	23 (16.2%)
Within 1 mi. of this Community	21 (2.8%)	5 (6.3%)	6 (4.3%)	2 (1.7%)	4 (7.1%)	3 (1.3%)	1 (0.7%)
Elsewhere	115 (15.2%)	14 (17.7%)	24 (17.3%)	23 (19.8%)	13 (23.2%)	20 (8.9%)	21 (14.8%)
Not Applicable	39 (5.2%)	3 (3.8%)	9 (6.5%)	8 (6.9%)	7 (12.5%)	4 (1.8%)	8 (5.6%)
Non Response	23 (3.0%)	2 (2.5%)	10 (7.2%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (1.8%)	3 (1.3%)	5 (3.5%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It can be seen that only 16 percent of the total sample respondents worked in the local community, which supports the suggestion that most of Edmonton's fringe communities are functioning as dormitory towns and villages.

Nearly 58 percent of the respondents worked within, or within one mile of, Edmonton. Sherwood Park, the closest of the six sample communities to Edmonton, revealed that only 7.6 percent of its respondents were employed within the local community. Morinville had the largest proportion of its respondents locally employed, followed by Devon and New Sarepta.

Commuters and Non-Commuters

There is a tendency for the literature to assume that the indigenous fringe community resident invariably works in the local community. While this assumption makes it easier to fabricate a dichotomy of 'localite' and 'commuting exurbanite' for illustrative and comparative purposes, it is hardly realistic. It seems logical to assume that if the fringe community is sufficiently convenient to the exurbanite as a place to live, the adjacent city should be equally convenient to the localite as a place to work. Cross tabulation analysis with the total sample showed that 51.6 percent of those born and raised in the local community worked in the community or within one mile of it. Slightly less than 23 percent commuted to jobs in Edmonton or within one mile of its corporate boundaries; 8.1 percent were retired.

Religious Affiliations

Slightly less than 58 percent of the total respondents declared themselves as adhering to one of the Protestant faiths, compared to 24.2 percent who declared themselves to be Catholic. Eighteen percent stated no affiliation with any religious faith. Twenty-seven Christian and non-Christian denominations were represented in the total response in the total response; however; only one respondent declared adherence to a non-Christian faith. Noticeably absent were the Jewish faiths. Table 4.12 reveals the distribution of the two major Christian faiths and nonaffiliations among the six

communities and for the total sample.

Table 4.12
MAJOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY COMMUNITY AND
TOTAL SAMPLE

Religious Affiliation	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Protestant	436 (57.6%)	46 (61.3%)	93 (71.5%)	37 (33.6%)	41 (80.4%)	135 (63.7%)	84 (65.6%)
Catholic	183 (24.2%)	15 (20.0%)	19 (14.6%)	67 (60.9%)	6 (11.8%)	50 (23.6%)	26 (20.3%)
Nonaffiliated	87 (18.2%)	14 (18.7%)	18 (13.8%)	6 (5.5%)	4 (7.8%)	27 (12.7%)	18 (14.1%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In order to determine the predictability of religious affiliations within the sample communities, cross tabulation analysis of recoded denominational categories by the six sample communities was performed. Since the Protestant and Catholic faiths represented the overwhelming majority of responses, these, together with the nonaffiliated response, became the three categories of the criterion variable. Table 4.13 shows that a significant relationship exists between the two variables. Asymmetric lambda, which Mueller, Schuessler and Costner consider to be one of the more appropriate measure of association for nominal data, indicates an improvement in predictability of about 11 percent.¹ In this case, an 11 percent

¹ John H. Mueller, Karl F. Schuessler, and Herbert L. Costner, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1970), pp. 253-254.

reduction in error may be expected in predicting religious affiliation from a knowledge of the community. This is not a substantial improvement, although the cause becomes evident when cell frequencies are examined. Only Morinville and New Sarepta are substantially atypical of the six subsamples. Nearly 61 percent of Morinville's respondents declared themselves to be Catholic, compared to 24.2 percent for the total sample. Just over 80 percent of New Sarepta's respondents declared themselves to be Protestant; this compares with 57.6 percent for the total sample.

Table 4.13

CROSS TABULATION OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND COMMUNITY

Religious Affiliation	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove	Row Total
Protestant	46	93	37	41	135	84	436
Catholic	15	19	67	6	50	26	183
Nonaffiliated	14	18	6	4	27	18	87
Column Total	75	130	110	51	212	128	706

$\chi^2 = 92.80$; 10 df.; Sig. = .000.

Asymmetric lambda = .11.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Origins of Respondents

Respondents were asked to which country their ancestor, on the male side, was native, prior to coming to this continent. Nearly 69 percent of the total sample traced their ancestral roots to England and the European continent. A further 16.4 percent claimed ancestry in Scotland and Ireland. The largest single source was England, which alone account for 24 percent

of the total response. Morinville's largest single group in terms of ancestral origins (17 percent) traced its ancestry to France; however, it exceeded the second largest single group, England, by only one percentage point. Just over 5 percent of the total response claimed French ancestry. The other significantly atypical subsample was New Sarepta: 23 percent of its respondents traced their ancestral origins to Germany.

Languages Spoken in the Home

Question 23 in the survey questionnaire asked respondents what language or languages they commonly spoke in the home. Ninety-two percent declared that they spoke only English. A further 3 percent spoke English, and another (unspecified) language; 2 percent spoke only French in the home. As Table 4.14 shows, Morinville was again atypical in terms of the total sample; 12.1 percent spoke French in the home, while a further 13.8 percent spoke English and another language. No other non-English in-home languages predominated; half of one percent spoke Ukrainian, while .03 percent spoke German.

Importance of the Community's Ethnic/Religious Composition

Respondents were asked to assess the importance of the community's ethnic/religious composition to their locational decision. An analysis of variance among the six communities produced a significant F ratio at greater than .05 level. Again, the two atypical communities were Morinville and New Sarepta. As previously mentioned, the former has a strong Catholic affiliation; closer examination of New Sarepta's data showed that nearly 40 percent of its respondents were Lutheran. Slightly less than 27 percent of Morinville's respondents had attached 'high' or 'moderate' importance to the ethnic/religious composition of that community when making their decision to reside there; this compares with 10.6 percent

Table 4.14

LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE HOME BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL
SAMPLE

Table 4.15

IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUNITY'S ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

for the total sample. Just over 23 percent of New Sarepta's respondents attached similar importance to this factor. The frequencies for this variable, at both the total and subsample, are given in Table 4.15.

Spatial and Temporal Characteristics

Length of Residence

Some idea of the 'newness' of Edmonton's fringe community populations can be conveyed by the fact that 55.7 percent of the total respondents had been living in their respective communities for less than six years. A further 19.4 percent had held residence for less than 11 years, while 2.5 percent had been there for less than one year. Since 98 percent of the total respondents had lived outside the community immediately prior to occupying their present accommodation it may be assumed that these data largely reflect in-migration rather than intracommunity relocation.

Nearly three-quarters of Spruce Grove's respondents reported living there less than six years. Sherwood Park and Devon approximated the average at 55 percent and 58 percent respectively, while only 38 percent of New Sarepta's respondents fell into this category. Morinville had the largest proportion of respondents living in the community less than one year (4 percent); Bon Accord had the lowest proportion in this category, at 1 percent. Slightly less than 21 percent of the total sample had lived in their respective communities for over 10 years.

Location of Prior Residence

As Table 4.16 indicates, the majority of the total respondents had lived within Edmonton's corporate limits immediately prior to locating in their respective communities. It may be noted, however, that a significant proportion of those who migrate to the Edmonton area from other regions settle in the urban fringe community. Sherwood Park appears to be attract-

Table 4.16
LOCATION OF PRIOR RESIDENCE BY COMMUNITY AND
TOTAL SAMPLE

Location	Total Sample	Bon Accord	Devon	Morinville	New Sarepta	Sherwood Park	Spruce Grove
Within Edmonton's Corporate Limits	372 (49.1%)	45 (57.0%)	64 (46.0%)	42 (36.2%)	17 (30.4%)	121 (53.8%)	83 (58.5%)
Within 25 miles of Edmonton	92 (12.2%)	11 (13.9%)	14 (10.1%)	27 (23.3%)	14 (25.0%)	10 (4.4%)	16 (11.3%)
Within this Province	142 (18.8%)	5 (6.3%)	38 (27.3%)	25 (21.6%)	11 (19.6%)	43 (19.1%)	20 (14.1%)
Elsewhere in Canada	102 (13.5%)	10 (12.7%)	18 (12.9%)	9 (7.8%)	3 (5.4%)	44 (19.6%)	18 (12.7%)
Outside Canada	19 (2.5%)	1 (1.3%)	3 (2.2%)	-	6 (10.7%)	7 (3.1%)	2 (1.4%)
Nonresponse	30 (4.0%)	7 (8.9%)	2 (1.4%)	13 (11.2%)	5 (8.9%)	-	3 (2.1%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ing a larger proportion of migrants from elsewhere in Alberta and Canada than the other five communities. The reasons for this are open to conjecture, although this community has a much larger population than the other subsamples and its retail and service infrastructure is better developed. Spruce Grove had the largest proportion of respondents who had lived in Edmonton immediately prior to their present location; New Sarepta had the lowest. The fact that a number of the sample communities showed a substantial proportion of respondents migrating from within 25 miles (40.2 km) of Edmonton indicates that some of the smaller fringe communities are losing their populations to those that are making the most rapid growth.

Prior Accommodation

The data revealed that 43.7 percent of the total respondents had occupied multiple family dwellings immediately prior to locating in their respective communities. This compares significantly with the nearly 90 percent who declared that their present accommodation was a single family unit. Nearly 24 percent were living in an apartment, while 5.2 percent occupied a mobile home. Frequencies for prior accommodation for the total and subsamples are given in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17

Cross tabulation analysis was performed to determine whether a systematic relationship existed between prior accommodation and the location of prior residence. The former variable was recoded by grouping all nonsingle family dwellings into 'multiple family dwellings'. As Table 4.18 indicates, the relationship was significant at greater than the .05 level. Asymmetric lambda indicated that a 27 percent improvement in the prediction of prior accommodation can be expected from a knowledge of the location of prior residence. Generally, it was found that a larger proportion of those who lived in Edmonton immediately prior to locating at the fringe tended to occupy multiple family housing, than those who migrated from other areas. However, when the subsamples were introduced as control variables, no significant relationship was found within the communities of Morinville and New Sarepta.

Table 4.18
CROSS TABULATION OF PRIOR ACCOMMODATION AND
LOCATION OF PRIOR RESIDENCE

Prior Accommodation	Prior Residence					Row Total
	Within Edmonton	Within 25 mi. Edmonton	Within Alberta	Elsewhere in Canada	Outside Canada	
Single Family Dwelling	137	52	100	62	11	362
Multiple Family Dwelling	226	27	36	36	5	330
Column Total	363	79	136	98	16	692

$$\chi^2 = 67.66; \text{ 4 df.}; \text{ Sig.} = .000.$$

New Sarepta was atypical of the six communities in the proportion of its respondents who had lived in single family dwellings immediately prior to their present dwelling; 73.3 percent compared to 48.7 percent for the total sample. This may be due to some extent to the fact that New Sarepta has thus far attracted the lowest proportion of in-migrants from Edmonton: 30.4 percent compared to 49.1 percent for the total sample.

Present Accommodation

An interesting statistic to emerge from the profile data was the high incidence of single family (detached) residence occupancy. Table 4.19 reveals that nearly 90 percent of the total respondents were living in this type of accommodation at the time of the survey. Sherwood Park

Table 4.19

respondents had the largest proportion of single family dwellings of the six communities (92.0 percent); Morinville had the lowest (81.0 percent).

Both Morinville and Spruce Grove have fairly extensive mobile home facilities. This fact is reflected in the data, which indicate that these two communities had a larger proportion of respondents living in mobile homes than the other nonsingle family dwelling types combined. New Sarepta displays similar characteristics.

As Table 4.20 indicates, 41.5 percent more respondents were presently living in single family units than were prior to relocating. Conversely, 22.3 percent fewer respondents were living in apartments than were before relocating in their present community.

Table 4.20

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN TYPE OF PRIOR AND PRESENT
ACCOMMODATION: TOTAL SAMPLE

Dwelling Type	Prior Accommodation	Present Accommodation	% Change
Single Dwelling	369 (48.7%)	675 (89.2%)	+ 41.5
Duplex	40 (5.3%)	9 (1.2%)	- 4.1
Condominium	38 (5.0%)	11 (1.5%)	- 3.5
Low Income	16 (2.1%)	4 (0.5%)	- 1.6
Row Housing	17 (2.2%)	3 (0.4%)	- 1.8
Apartment	181 (23.9%)	12 (1.6%)	- 22.3
Mobile Home	39 (5.2%)	35 (4.6%)	- 0.6
Living with Parents, etc.	30 (4.0%)	-- --	- 4.0
Nonresponse	27 (3.6%)	8 (1.1%)	--
	100%	100%	

Type of Tenancy

Very little of the residential property in Edmonton's fringe communities appears to be leased or rented. Over 92 percent of the total sample respondents reported that they were home owners; in other words, they either held the title to their home or were in the process of purchasing it. The only atypical community in this regard was New Sarepta, whose respondents reported a lower incidence of home ownership (80.4 percent) than the total sample. Spruce Grove had the highest proportion, at 96.5 percent.

Age of Present Accommodation

The age distribution of respondents' present accommodation again reflects the recent population increases in many of Edmonton's fringe communities. Just over 50 percent of the total sample respondents reported living in accommodation that was less than six years old; 1.3 percent were occupying accommodation that was less than one year old. The average age of present accommodation for the total sample was 11.1 years; the modal category was 5 years (12.0 percent).

Spruce Grove had the newest accommodation of the six subsamples, with 64.1 percent of its respondents reporting that they lived in dwellings that were less than six years old. New Sarepta had the lowest proportion, 33.9 percent.

Local Leisure Activities

Extrapolating from the data of this study, it appears that Edmonton's fringe community residents center few of their leisure activities in the local community. Respondents were asked to declare the percentage of leisure activities, such as dining out, movie-going, bingos, social clubs, etc., spent locally. Slightly more than 35 percent of the total sample spent less than 10 percent of such activities in their own communities. New Sarepta's

respondents were somewhat significant in the fact that they spent the lowest proportion of their leisure activities locally; 82.1 percent of this sub-sample spent less than 50 percent of leisure activities in the local community.

These findings are undoubtedly due to some extent to the size of the community and their proximity to other centers. However, the data do not show any systematic relationship to population or distance from Edmonton in terms of the communities sampled. It can be seen from Table 4.21, for example, that the smallest and the largest of the communities sampled (New Sarepta and Sherwood Park) indicate a generally low proportion of leisure activities spent locally.

Consumer Characteristics of Respondents

Respondents were asked to declare where they normally purchased six representative types of goods and services. These included the following:

- Major Grocery Purchases
- Large Appliances
- Expensive Adult Clothing
- Work Clothes (overalls, parkas, boots, etc.)
- Haircutting/hairdressing
- Dental Care

The three response options were 'Edmonton', 'Here' (i.e., in the local community), and 'Elsewhere' (unspecified). Table 4.22 shows that some locational selectivity exists among the types of goods and services purchased. The majority of respondents purchased groceries locally, but goods such as appliances and expensive clothing were overwhelmingly purchased in Edmonton. The purchase of services (haircutting/hairdressing and dental care) was more obtuse in terms of location. Obviously, these patterns are influenced to a large extent by the availability of the goods and services within the local community. The fact that a small, but significant, proportion of these goods and services was being procured from elsewhere than Edmonton and the local community indicates that other centers are being

Table 4.21

PERCENTAGE OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES SPENT IN THE LOCAL
COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Table 4.22

PURCHASE LOCATION OF SELECTED CONSUMER GOODS AND SERVICES
BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

	Total Sample			Bon Accord			Devon			Morinville		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Major Grocery	246 (33.2%)*	438 (59.0%)(7.8%)	58 (76.9%)(20.5%)(2.6%)	60 (76.9%)	16 (20.5%)	2 (2.6%)	52 (38.0%)(54.0%)(8.0%)	74 (54.0%)	11 (8.0%)	31 (28.2%)(41.8%)	46 (91.2%)	33 (30.0%)
Large Appliance/ Furniture	685 (92.2%)	44 (5.9%)	14 (1.9%)	77 (97.5%)	- (2.5%)	2 (2.5%)	118 (86.8%)(12.5%)	17 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)	104 (91.2%)	8 (7.0%)	2 (1.8%)
Expensive Adult Clothing	689 (94.1%)	30 (4.1%)	13 (1.8%)	76 (97.4%)	- (2.6%)	2 (2.6%)	129 (95.6%)(2.2%)	3 (2.2%)	3 (2.2%)	106 (96.4%)(2.7%)	3 (96.4%)	1 (0.9%)
Work Clothes	580 (80.3%)	118 (16.3%)(3.3%)	24 (93.6%)	73 (1.3%)	1 (5.1%)	4 (5.1%)	111 (84.7%)(8.4%)	11 (6.9%)	9 (6.9%)	91 (81.3%)(17.0%)	19 (17.0%)	2 (1.8%)
Haircutting/ Hairstressing	269 (36.6%)	423 (57.6%)(5.7%)	42 (5.0%)	38 (38.2%)	29 (11.8%)	9 (37.8%)	51 (55.6%)	75 (6.7%)	9 (6.7%)	36 (32.1%)(63.4%)	71 (4.5%)	5 (4.5%)
Dental Care	397 (54.1%)	248 (33.8%)(12.1%)	89 (83.5%)	66 (16.5%)	- (33.3%)	13 (61.5%)	45 (61.5%)	83 (5.2%)	7 (5.2%)	69 (62.2%)	1 (0.9%)	41 (36.9%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(Continued.....)

Table 4.22 (Con't)

	New Sarepta			Sherwood Park			Spruce Grove		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Major Grocery	33 (62.3%)(17.0%)	9 (20.8%)	11 (20.8%)	15 (6.7%)	207 (92.8%)	1 (0.4%)	55 (39.0%)	86 (61.0%)	-
Large Appliance/Furniture	50 (94.3%)(1.9%)	1 (3.8%)	2 (4.1%)	209 (94.1%)(4.1%)	9 (1.8%)	4 (1.8%)	127 (91.4%)	9 (6.5%)	3 (2.2%)
Expensive Adult Clothing	49 (94.2%)	-	3 (5.8%)	195 (89.9%)	19 (8.8%)	3 (1.4%)	134 (95.7%)	5 (3.6%)	1 (0.7%)
Work Clothes	46 (88.5%)(3.8%)	2 (7.7%)	4 (7.7%)	149 (70.6%)	59 (28.0%)	3 (1.4%)	110 (79.8%)	26 (18.8%)	2 (1.4%)
Haircutting/Hairdressing	21 (39.6%)(50.9%)	27 (9.4%)	5 (9.4%)	86 (39.4%)	130 (59.6%)	2 (0.9%)	37 (26.4%)	91 (65.0%)	12 (8.6%)
Dental Care	40 (75.5%)	-	13 (24.5%)	115 (53.2%)	95 (44.0%)	6 (2.8%)	62 (44.3%)	69 (49.3%)	9 (6.4%)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Adjusted percentages

1 = Purchased in Edmonton; 2 = Purchased locally; 3 = Purchased elsewhere (unspecified).

patronized by fringe community residents. Which these may be is open to conjecture, since respondents were not asked to elaborate this response category.

Respondents' Characterization of the Local Community

Respondents were asked how they would characterize their local community, regardless of how it might be legally classified. The four response categories were roughly scaled according to their aesthetic-utilitarian descriptive flavor. As the following table shows, 14 percent of the total respondents characterized their community in aesthetically oriented 'rural traditional' terms. The majority considered their community to be nothing more than a dormitory town or a suburb of Edmonton. Consequently, it can be concluded that the majority of respondents in this survey did not 'idealize' their community to any great extent. Morinville was somewhat atypical in that 30.2 percent of its respondents saw their community in rural traditional terms.

Table 4.23
RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERIZATION OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY
BY COMMUNITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Summary

Population Growth

Generally, these data indicate that Edmonton is a significant population source in the accelerating development of extant fringe communities in the Edmonton area. However, this is by no means an exclusive relationship. It appears that a significant number of migrants who come to work in Edmonton are selecting a fringe community in preference, for one reason or another, to the central city. Nevertheless, Edmonton is clearly a major source of employment for its surrounding fringe communities, and also the chief supplier of goods and services to the region.

The Respondents

The majority of the respondents were young and married. Most had children under the age of eighteen still living at home. Nearly all were in the labor force at the time of the survey. A significant proportion were descended from European and British stock, with the latter providing the largest single source. English was by far the most predominant language spoken in the home. Less than one-tenth spoke French in the home, although there is a possibility that some bias may have been introduced into the responses by the use of English only in the questionnaire. Protestants outnumbered Catholics more than 2 to 1. Slightly less than 12 percent declared no affiliation with a religious denomination.

Socioeconomically, they approximate the 'lower-middle-class-middle-income' earners described and defined in the related literature. One-third of the married respondents had working spouses. Well over half had received some form of higher education, with emphasis upon technical/trades training. Generally, the younger respondents were better educated/trained than those in the older age groups. Only a small proportion were self employed. Nearly

58 percent worked in, or in the immediate vicinity of, Edmonton.

Nearly half indicated that they were purchasing a single family (detached) home after immediately previously occupying a multiple family dwelling. There is a strong possibility that a large proportion of these respondents were acquiring a detached home for the first time. Practically all were purchasing, rather than renting, their accommodation. While just over a third of the total respondents had located at the fringe due to the high cost of housing in Edmonton, a slightly higher proportion claimed that they based their choice on noneconomic factors. Nevertheless, the total data suggest that high housing and land costs in the central city underly much of Edmonton's fringe growth. Nearly all respondents attached some importance to living within easy access of Edmonton; a third considered this factor to be highly important.

Approximately half of the total respondents characterized their community as either a dormitory town or a suburb of Edmonton. Only 14 percent viewed their community in 'rural-traditional' terms. This suggests that most do not 'idealize' their community environment, although it must be acknowledged that the quest for a single family dwelling is in itself an idealized lifestyle.

Leisure/Consumer Characteristics

These respondents clearly relied very little upon the local community for their leisure activities. Even the larger communities, such as Sherwood Park and Spruce Grove, which possess a better developed economic infrastructure than the smaller communities in the sample, were no more successful in attracting the leisure activities of their respondents. Neither population size nor distance from Edmonton was significantly related to this issue.

In terms of purchasing habits, respondents tended to be selective,

depending upon the type of goods and services and the morphological characteristics of their respective communities. The purchase of day-to-day goods, of which groceries were considered to be representative, tended to be locally based; just over half of the total respondents purchased groceries locally. More expensive items, such as furniture and appliances, were overwhelmingly purchased in Edmonton. The purchasing characteristics of services were more obtuse. A close examination of the data indicate that local availability may have influenced these characteristics. It was noted that a slight majority of respondents in the larger communities patronized local haircutting/hairdressing establishments, compared to about half of those in smaller centers. The purchase of highly skilled/technical services, represented in this study by dental care, was clearly mediated by community size. Just over half of the total respondents purchased such services in Edmonton, while approximately one-third patronized local facilities. However, the majority of respondents in the smaller centers, such as New Sarepta and Bon Accord, purchased these services in Edmonton, while the balance purchased them elsewhere.

It should be noted that purchasing habits were not exclusively limited to the local community and Edmonton. In all cases, other centers were patronized to varying degrees for these representative goods and services. This indicates that other larger communities at or beyond the urban fringe are presently benefiting to some extent from Edmonton's regional population growth.

Housing

The data indicate that new housing construction in many of Edmonton's fringe communities is dominated by single family (detached) dwellings. The fact that nearly 90 percent of the total respondents were living in detached

homes, coupled with the fact that only 7.5 percent of total accommodation was being rented, suggest that single family home ownership is a key factor in fringe community expansion around Edmonton. The larger communities, such as Sherwood Park, Spruce Grove, and Devon, had a higher proportion of their respondents living in multiple family units than the smaller centers. This points to changing patterns of residential construction as communities become larger. Increased demand for land and resulting increased land costs probably account for this trend to some extent; comparatively lower rent charges may also be a factor.

Just over half of the total respondents were living in accommodation that was less than six years old. It can be assumed, therefore, that much of the accelerated population growth, at least within the six communities sampled, has taken place within this time frame.

Community Comparisons

A predictable relationship appears to exist between community population size and distance from Edmonton; populations in the communities sampled diminished as distance from Edmonton increased. Correlational analysis proved this relationship to be highly significant.

Several differences were also noted among communities with respect to questionnaire responses. Three of the most significant were those related to religious and ethnic affiliations, and socioeconomic status. By comparison with the total sample, Sherwood Park was atypical in terms of respondents' generally higher socioeconomic status and in two of the latter's key elements: income and education. Both Morinville and New Sarepta differed from the total sample in their ethnic and religious affiliations. The former was and still is predominantly Roman Catholic, while New Sarepta has strong Lutheran affiliations. Additionally, Morinville revealed

modal group descentance from France; New Sarepta's largest single group claimed ancestry in Germany. The modal group in all the other sample communities claimed ancestry in England.

CHAPTER V

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE/BEHAVIOR RESPONSES

This chapter will examine respondent attitudes and behaviors in relation to the local community environment. Its major purpose, however, is to examine the extent to which these attitudes and behaviors are systematically related to the respondents' socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. Response frequency distributions are given in Appendix C. Since this essentially takes the form of exploratory analysis, no formal hypotheses will be presented. The questions incorporated into the survey questionnaire are intended to function as operational indicators of the five areas of concern previously discussed. As such, they will be treated as dependent variables. Apart from those questions related to the man-made environment, they will be subjected to multiple regression analysis on an individual basis.

As discussed previously, six socioeconomic and demographic variables have been cited by researchers as being systematically related to these attitudes and behaviors. The task of the multiple regression procedures will be to identify both the nature and the strength of their relationship to the dependent variables. In this context they will be regarded as independent. All will be selected for inclusion in each regression procedure on both an intuitive and deductive basis.

The inherent problems of multiple regression are well documented,¹ one being the large number of degrees of freedom involved in the procedure.

¹ See, for example, Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., and Ann B. Blalock, Methodology in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), pp. 347-359.

However, crosstabulation with partial tabling, although often used in exploratory analysis, is an inferior alternative when several independent variables are involved. This is due to its 'mechanical' weakness of relying upon adequate cell frequencies at all stages. These frequencies quickly become depleted during extensive partialling. Multiple regression analysis, while a rather general statistical technique, has the advantage of being able to identify the relationship between a criterion variable and a series of predictor variables in a fairly concise fashion. Kim and Kohout have confirmed its usefulness as a descriptive tool.¹ In addition to controlling for intervening factors, it identifies structural relationships by automatically selecting, in descending order, the indicator variables that explain the greatest proportion of variation. It is equally versatile in accommodating dummy variables.

A major deficiency of multiple regression analysis lies in the fact that while identifying the nature and the extent of a relationship between two or more variables, it does not reveal the nature of the relationship within the variables themselves. However, since the primary objective of this analytical procedure was to simply identify relationships among variables, rather than within them, the methodological sufficiency of this technique did not appear to be threatened.

Operationalizing the Indicator Variables

For the purpose of expedience, the six indicator variables have been recoded as follows:

SES = Socioeconomic Status

AGE = Age of Respondent

¹ Jae-On Kim and Frank J. Kohout (eds.), Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), pp. 320-321.

RES = Length of Residence in the Community

COMSTATUS = Commuter Status (those who work in the local community and those who commute to jobs elsewhere).

ACCOM = Prior Accommodation (type of accommodation occupied immediately prior to relocating in the present community).

CHILD = Children (whether respondent has, or does not have, children under the age of eighteen still living at home).

The scaling of SES was described in Chapter 3. AGE, which was an open ended question in the survey questionnaire, was recoded into five categories:

1 = Less than 30

2 = 30 - 39

3 = 40 - 49

4 = 50 - 59

5 = 60 and over

RES was recoded into the following four categories:

1 = Less than 12 months

2 = 1 - 5 years

3 = 6 - 10 years

4 = 11 years and over.

COMSTATUS was operationalized as a dummy variable from the response categories incorporated into Question 32 of the survey questionnaire. Those who worked within Edmonton's corporate limits or within one mile of them were classed as commuters (COMSTATUS = 0); those who worked within the local community or within a one mile radius of it were classed as non-commuters (COMSTATUS = 1). Since those who answered 'elsewhere' to this question could not be accurately categorized in terms of commuter status, they were

deleted from the analytical procedures.

ACCOM was also treated as a dummy variable. Respondents who had occupied a single family dwelling immediately prior to locating in the present community were assigned ACCOM = 0; those who had occupied a multiple family dwelling, regardless of type, were grouped into ACCOM = 1.

CHILD was recoded into two categories. Respondents who declared having no children under the age of eighteen still living at home were assigned CHILD = 0. Those who declared having children still living at home, regardless of number, were assigned CHILD = 1.

In addition to these six indicator variables, locational motivation (Variable 1) was also employed as an independent variable in several multiple regression procedures. The strategy here was to determine whether locational motivation demonstrated any relationship to specific community related attitudes and behaviors. In this context, then, it served a dual function of both criterion and indicator variable. In both cases it was operationalized as a dummy variable. Respondents who indicated that their locational choice was largely a function of economic considerations were assigned Variable 1 = 0. Those who indicated that their choice was independent of economic considerations were assigned Variable 1 = 1.

Operationalizing the Criterion Variables

Multiple regression analysis places several constraints upon the operationalization of variables. Consequently, most of the criterion variable response categories were constructed in a Likert-type format, which were then treated as interval data in the regression procedures.

¹ This operation resulted in 24.7 percent of the total respondents being screened out.

Other criterion variable response categories were either structured as dichotomies (for example, yes/no), or transformed into dummy variables. Both occasionally necessitated the loss of some information, although in view of the analytical strategy explained earlier, this was not considered problematic.

Construction of Regression Model

The regression model employed throughout these multivariate analyses identifies the regression coefficients (B), their standard errors (SE), F values for the overall regression equation, and F values for the regression coefficients at each inclusion level. The latter will be used to determine statistical significance at greater than the .05 level.¹ Both multiple R and R^2 are given, although, as Mueller, Schuessler, and Costner point out, only R^2 is amenable to direct interpretation. Unlike R, R^2 measures the overall proportion of the total variation of one variable that is associated with, or explained by, the other. Consequently, R^2 will be quoted in all discussions of explained variation. Not all the regression procedures will be presented in tabular form.

Results of the Multiple Regression Analyses

Locational Motivation

Two criterion variables were designed to represent this area of concern. The first (Variable 1 in the survey questionnaire) asked respondents to declare the major reason for their decision to locate in their present community. The second (Variable 2) asked to what extent the community's spatial proximity to Edmonton had influenced their locational choice.

The relationship that may exist between locational motivation and

¹ This shall be understood to mean a maximum 5% chance of error.

the indicator variables can be expressed in the following form:

$$\text{Variable 1} = f(\text{AGE}, \text{ACCOM}, \text{CHILD}, \text{SES})$$

Simple correlations between the criterion variable and these indicators revealed small relationships. Regression analysis with stepwise inclusions of the above indicators showed that AGE accounted for 64 percent of the explained variation in the criterion variable. As can be seen in Table 5.1, both AGE and ACCOM maintained consistent F values throughout the inclusion levels and were significant at greater than .05.

It is highly probable that a respondent's age will be an intervening variable in many, if not all, socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. It may be assumed to affect income, and, consequently, such factors as accommodation. It has been shown to influence marital status, and more particularly parental status. The fact that AGE emerges occasionally throughout these analyses as a statistically significant indicator tends to confirm the literature on this point.

Apart from AGE, then, it appears that a respondent's prior accommodation is weakly related to locational motivation. Neither SES nor CHILD were statistically significant. The total proportion of explained variation (R^2) amounted to 10.4 percent, which means that nearly 90 percent of the variation remains unexplained.

In examining 'ease of access' (Variable 2), locational motivation was utilized as an indicator. The rationale here was that those who located in the community for economic reasons (high cost of housing in Edmonton, etc.) might assign a different priority to their community's spatial proximity to Edmonton than those who located for non economic reasons (better environment, etc.). Simple correlations showed that among the indicator variables, Variable 1, RES, and ACCOM were most strongly

Table 5.1

LOCATIONAL MOTIVATION (VARIABLE 1): STEPWISE REGRESSION OF ALL
CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	AGE	ACCOM	CHILD	SES	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 1.188	.133 (.023)				.260	.067	31.445*	1;433
	SE	31.445*							
	F								
2	B 1.497	.111 (.023)		-.173 (.041)		.321	.103	24.951*	2;432
	SE	21.469*		17.276*					
	F								
3	B 1.529	.109 (.024)		-.173 (.041)		.322	.104	16.731*	3;431
	SE	20.766*		17.355*					
	F								
4	B 1.503	.108 (.024)		-.171 (.041)		.447 (.028)	.323	.104	12.596* 4;430
	SE	20.373*		16.804*		.008 .375			
	F					.278			

N = 435.

* Significant at greater than .05.

correlated with the criterion variable. Thus, the anticipated relationship between Variable 2 and these indicator variables may be expressed in the form

$$\text{Variable 2} = f(\text{Variable 1}, \text{RES}, \text{ACCOM})$$

However, multiple regression revealed that ACCOM accounted for 86 percent of the small amount of explained variation (2.2%). Nevertheless, its F value remained consistent at each inclusion level and was significant at greater than .05. Neither Variable 1 nor RES were statistically significant.

Thus, it seems that the importance a respondent attaches to the local community's spatial proximity to Edmonton is mediated to some extent by the type of accommodation previously occupied. The data indicate that there is no significant relationship between locational motivation and the importance attached to the community's spatial proximity to Edmonton.

Attitudes Toward the Local Man-Made Environment

The term 'man-made environment' was originally coined by William Michelson and refers to aspects of the physical environment that are the direct or indirect product of man's intervention. Thus, housing, factories, roads- and even some of their by-products such as pollution- may be considered as being man-made. In keeping with this term of reference, a number of hypothetical construction proposals were incorporated into the survey questionnaire.

The analytical focus here is upon the range, rather than the type, of perception involved in respondent reaction to these proposals. It will be recalled that a number of researchers, including Michelson and Clark, consider upper and upper-middle class strata to be more community oriented

than most elements of the lower-middle class strata. Therefore, the former might be expected to demonstrate a greater concern for the type of development that takes place in the community than the latter. What Michelson and Clark are saying, in effect, is that upper and upper-middle class people have a more 'extended' perception of the community environment than lower class strata.

In order to test these claims, responses to the hypothetical proposals were split into two parts, each being treated as separate variables. The first part asked respondents how they would react to the proposals if they were to be located in the immediate vicinity of their homes. The second part solicited a response to the same if they were located 'elsewhere' in the community. The wording here was deliberately diffuse in order to permit respondents to individually conceptualize the changes that the community might undergo as a result of these developments. Those who were concerned about the physical and social aspects of their local environment would be expected to demonstrate a greater sensitivity toward the proposals than those who simply did not care.

In order to loosely control for attitude object selectivity, a total of eighteen dissimilar construction proposals were included. These range from what might be considered as 'contentious' issues, such as low income housing, oil and gas processing plants, and hotels with beer parlors, to somewhat less contentious issues such as single family residences, parks, and children's playgrounds.

Since the central purpose of this exploratory analysis was to determine the relationship between perceptive range and socioeconomic/demographic characteristics, rather than to identify specific attitudes, it was not considered necessary to analyze each attitude object individually. Consequently, they were grouped into two discrete variables: X_1 ,

which represented the 'immediate vicinity' part of each question; and X_2 , which represented 'elsewhere in the community'. To achieve this the response categories were averaged. They were also reorganized for the purpose of this analysis. The original response scale used in the questionnaire was a conventional ordinal Likert-type (see Questions 34 through 51 in the survey questionnaire). The two extreme categories (Very Favorable/Very Unfavorable) were grouped into what might be described as a 'highly definitive' response. 'Favorable/Unfavorable' were grouped and became 'definitive', while Indifferent was simply moved to the 'low' end of the new scale. The scale thus became: (1) Highly Definitive; (2) Definitive, and, (3) Indifferent. This was not done originally in the survey questionnaire because it was felt that much of the 'sharpness' of the responses would be lost. There was also some concern that the wording might create confusion on the part of the respondents.

Simple correlations between Variables X_1 and X_2 and the six indicator variables revealed that all, with the exception of locational motivation (Variable 1) were weakly related. Thus, the projected relationship between Variables X_1 and X_2 and the indicator variables can be presented as

$$X_1 = f(\text{COMSTATUS}, \text{ACCOM}, \text{SES}, \text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{CHILD})$$

$$X_2 = f(\text{COMSTATUS}, \text{ACCOM}, \text{SES}, \text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{CHILD})$$

When these indicator variables were regressed on Variable X_1 (immediate vicinity) it was found that AGE accounted for nearly 53 percent of the small amount of total explained variation (5.7 percent). As Table 5.2 shows, AGE and SES remained statistically significant at all inclusion levels at greater than .05. The F values of SES were particularly stable at all inclusion levels. These findings indicate that, once again, the age

Table 5.2

GROUPED DATA X₁: STEPWISE REGRESSION OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	AGE	SES	ACCOM	COMSTATUS	RES	CHILD	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 79.956	.174						.174	.030	18.996*	1;607
	SE	.040									
	F	18.996*									
2	B 75.658	.158	.877					.228	.052	16.640*	2;606
	SE	.039	.235								
	F	15.824*	13.882*								
3	B 79.441	.139	.846	.846	.846	.846	.846	.273	.055	11.841*	3;605
	SE	.041	.236	.236	.236	.236	.236				
	F	11.053*	12.857*	12.857*	12.857*	12.857*	12.857*				
4	B 78.576	.137	.834	.834	.834	.834	.834	.236	.056	8.979*	4;604
	SE	.042	.237	.237	.237	.237	.237				
	F	10.632*	12.387*	12.387*	12.387*	12.387*	12.387*				
5	B 78.294	.140	.831	.831	.831	.831	.831	.237	.056	7.229*	5;603
	SE	.042	.237	.237	.237	.237	.237				
	F	10.881*	12.280*	12.280*	12.280*	12.280*	12.280*				
6	B 77.736	.140	.835	.835	.835	.835	.835	.238	.057	6.039*	6;602
	SE	.042	.237	.237	.237	.237	.237				
	F	10.856*	12.365*	12.365*	12.365*	12.365*	12.365*				

N = 609

* Significant at greater than .05.

of the respondent intervenes in the coefficients yielded by other indicator variables.

Aside from AGE, then, it appears that socioeconomic status is weakly, but significantly, related to respondent attitudes toward the immediate home environment. This supports, to some extent, the claims made by Michelson and Clark, although this analytical procedure does not indicate directionality.

Multiple regression analysis with Variable X_2 (elsewhere in the community) revealed a rather different picture. As can be seen in Table 5.3, COMSTATUS accounted for 45 percent of the total explained variation, which again was very small (7.1 percent). COMSTATUS, ACCOM, and SES were all statistically significant at greater than .05; the latter two accounted for a further 25 percent and 23 percent, respectively, of the total explained variation.

These data indicate that, unlike Variable 1, the attitudes of respondents toward the community environment, as opposed to the immediate home environment, are mediated by their commuter status (whether or not they commute to jobs outside the community), their immediately previous accommodation, and their socioeconomic status. This again tends to support some of the related literature, particularly the work of Pahl and Graber, which indicates that commuters are often more sensitive to the fringe community environment than those who both live and work in the local community. However, it must be acknowledged that in both Variables, X_1 and X_2 , the amount of explained variation is very small, which suggests that the indicator variables cited in the literature are not extensively involved in the Edmonton experience.

Three other questions were used to represent attitudes toward the local man-made environment. All were analyzed discretely. The first asked

Table 5.3

GROUPED DATA χ_2 : STEPWISE REGRESSION OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	COMSTATUS	ACCOMM	SES	AGE	RES	CHILD	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 75.746	3.745						.179	.032	20.152*	1;607
	SE	.834									
	F	20.152*									
2	B 83.356	3.185	-4.551					.225	.050	16.270*	2;606
	SE	.844	1.312								
	F	13.873*	12.023*								
3	B 79.157	2.926	-4.149	.721				.257	.066	14.294*	3;605
	SE	.841	1.309	.229							
	F	12.103*	10.039*	9.867*							
4	B 76.807	2.827	-3.552	.698	.606			.263	.069	11.292*	4;605
	SE	.843	1.368	.230	.040						
	F	11.247*	6.739*	9.221*	2.202						
5	B 76.299	2.824	-3.450	.693	.656	.389		.266	.070	9.216*	5;603
	SE	.843	1.372	.230	.041	.040					
	F	11.227*	6.320*	9.080*	2.537	.916					
6	B 76.871	2.820	-3.453	.688	.656	.359	-.161	.267	.071	7.695*	6;602
	SE	.843	1.373	.230	.041	.041	.408				
	F	11.173*	6.322*	8.921*	2.533	.756	.156				

N = 609

* Significant at greater than .05.

respondents how, from among four alternatives, they would prefer to see their community develop (Variable 53-56). From the indicator variables, Variable 1 (locational motivation), RES, and AGE showed the highest simple correlations, suggesting that

$$\text{Variable 53 - 56} = f(\text{Variable 1, RES, AGE})$$

Multiple regression analysis with stepwise inclusions of these indicators revealed that AGE, again accounted for a large proportion (69 percent) of the slightly more than 3 percent of total explained variation. Both Variable 1 and AGE were statistically significant at greater than .05, suggesting that the age of the respondent and locational motivation are weakly related to attitudes toward community growth alternatives.

A second, related, question asked respondents how much overall growth they would like to see in their community (Variable 77). Simple correlations showed a weak relationship between this criterion and AGE, SES, RES, and COMSTATUS; this can be stated in the form:

$$\text{Variable 77} = f(\text{AGE, SES, RES, COMSTATUS})$$

Multiple regression analysis with stepwise inclusions of these indicators showed, again, that AGE accounted for a high proportion (64 percent) of the total explained variation, which amounted to less than 2.5 percent. Only SES remained constant, in terms of its F values, at each inclusion level. Both AGE and SES were statistically significant at all inclusion levels at greater than .05. Thus, apart from age, the socioeconomic status of respondents appears to mediate, to a small extent, their attitudes toward overall community growth.

The final question included in this area of concern asked respondents whether they would object to their community being eventually linked with Edmonton by urban development (Variable 58). This was subjected to

multiple regression analysis in the form:

$$\text{Variable 58} = f(\text{RES, SES, AGE})$$

As in the majority of the regression models used in this analysis, the proportion of unexplained variation was extremely high. RES accounted for 47 percent of the total explained variation (1.9 percent). Hierarchically, the regression model showed RES to be the major indicator, followed by SES and AGE. Only RES and SES maintained stable F values at all inclusion levels. Both remained statistically significant at greater than .05. These data can be interpreted as indicating that a respondent's length of residence in the community, coupled with his/her socioeconomic status, mediate attitudes toward this type of development issue.

Concern for the Community

As previously discussed, four questions were used to represent individual concern for the local community. The first asked respondents whether they were aware of the work of the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission, insofar as it affected the growth and development of their community (Variable 7). Simple correlations between this criterion variable and the indicators produced the following expected relationship:

$$\text{Variable 7} = f(\text{AGE, RES, SES, COMSTATUS})$$

As Table 5.4 shows, AGE again intervened to a high degree, accounting for 47 percent of the total explained variation (8.7 percent). It can be seen that all the included indicators maintained statistical significance at greater than .05. Apart from AGE, the remaining indicators contributed similar amounts to the total explained variation, with RES being ranked second in the hierarchy.

The second question in this area of concern asked respondents whether they were, or had been, involved in the citizen participation

Table 5.4

ERPC AWARENESS (VARIABLE 7): STEPWISE REGRESSION OF
ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	AGE	RES	SES	Comstatus	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 1.698	-.104				.204	.041	18.858*	1;433
	SE .024	.024							
	F 18.858*	18.858*							
2	B 1.867	-.794	-.946			.240	.058	13.316*	2;432
	SE .025	.025	.034						
	F 0.592*	0.592*	7.492*						
3	B 1.780	-.822	-.105	.230		.270	.073	11.383*	3;431
	SE .025	.025	.034	.008					
	F 10.410*	9.265*	7.140*						
4	B 1.963	-.922	-.992	.248	-.176	.296	.087	10.371*	4;430
	SE .025	.025	.034	.008	.067				
	F 12.969*	8.327*	8.326*	6.870*					

N = 435

* Significant at greater than .05.

aspects of the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission's work, insofar as it affected the growth and development of their community (Variable 8). Simple correlations between Variable 8 and the indicator variables suggested a relationship of the form:

$$\text{Variable 8} = f(\text{COMSTATUS}, \text{RES}, \text{SES}, \text{AGE})$$

In this instance, the multiple regression model showed that RES accounted for 56 percent of the slightly less than 4 percent total explained variation (see Table 5.5). RES, COMSTATUS, and SES were statistically significant at all inclusion levels. AGE was not. However, an examination of the R squares shows that RES and COMSTATUS accounted for the bulk of the explained variation.

The third question in this area of concern was of a more general nature. Respondents were asked to what extent they were concerned about the planned growth and development of their community (Variable 8). Here the simple correlation matrix indicated that Locational Motivation (Variable 1), together with AGE, RES, and COMSTATUS, were weakly related to this criterion variable. This suggests the form

$$\text{Variable 9} = f(\text{Variable 1}, \text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{COMSTATUS})$$

The regression model, with stepwise inclusions of these indicators, revealed that only COMSTATUS maintained a consistent F value throughout all inclusion levels; it was also the only indicator variable to be significant at greater than .05. In other words, commuter status seems to be weakly related to respondent attitudes toward the issue of planned growth.

The final question in this area of concern dealt with opinion influence. Respondents were asked whether they felt that their opinions, together with those expressed by other citizens, could influence the decisions of government planning agencies with respect to the planned growth

Table 5.5

ERPC INVOLVEMENT (VARIABLE 8): STEPWISE REGRESSION OF
ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	RES	COMSTATUS	SES	AGE	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 4.031	-.121				.148	.022	9.784*	1;433
	SE	.038							
	F	9.785*							
2	B 4.214	-.119	-.179			.181	.033	7.387*	2;432
	SE	.038	.081						
	F	9.542*	4.902*						
3	B 4.159	-.128	-.188	.165		.196	.038	5.779*	3;431
	SE	.039	.081	.010					
	F	10.770*	5.403*	2.513					
4	B 4.184	-.119	-.195	.168		.185	.039	4.417*	4;430
	SE	.041	.082	.010					
	F	8.120*	5.690*	2.602	.355				

N = 434

* Significant at greater than .05.

and development of communities such as theirs (Variable 10). Anticipated relationships between the criterion and indicator variables take the form:

$$\text{Variable 10} = f(\text{AGE}, \text{COMSTATUS}, \text{SES}, \text{RES})$$

The regression model showed that once again the amount of explained variation was extremely small (2.4 percent); COMSTATUS accounted for 37.5 percent of the total. Table 5.6 shows that only COMSTATUS and RES remained consistently significant at greater than .05 throughout all inclusion levels, accounting for 75 percent of the explained variation. It can be seen that the F values of these two indicators remained stable throughout the multiple regression procedure.

Local Community Involvement

Three questions were incorporated into the survey questionnaire as indicators of resident involvement in local community activities. The first asked respondents to what extent they were involved in the function and performance of their town/village council, and in local government generally (Variable 5). The expected relationship between the criterion variable and the relevant indicators takes the form:

$$\text{Variable 5} = f(\text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{SES}, \text{COMSTATUS})$$

It can be seen in Table 5.7 that multiple regression with step-wise inclusions of these indicators showed that COMSTATUS accounted for 49 percent of the total explained variation (5.1 percent). RES accounted for an additional 37.3 percent of the explained total. Both COMSTATUS and RES maintained stable F values at all inclusion levels, although some intervention by AGE is apparent. Only COMSTATUS and RES remained statistically significant at greater than .05. These data suggest that

Table 5.6

OPINION INFLUENCE (VARIABLE 10): STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	COMSTATUS	RES	SES	AGE	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 1.536						.099	.009	4.709* 1;470
	SE .037								
	F 4.709*								
2	B 1.551								
	SE .037								
	F 4.546*								
3	B 1.495								
	SE .038								
	F 5.627*								
4	B 1.523								
	SE .038								
	F 5.213*								

N = 432

* Significant at greater than .05.

Table 5.7

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT (VARIABLE 5): STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	COMSTATUS	RES	SES	AGE	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 3.796		-.347			.157	.024	11.041*	1;433
	SE		.104						
	F		11.042*						
2	B 4.137		-.340	-.148		.211	.044	10.080*	2;432
	SE		.103	.049					
	F		10.770*	8.917*					
3	B 4.078		-.350	-.157	.178	.220	.048	7.323*	3;431
	SE		.103	.050	.013				
	F		11.362*	9.876*	1.773				
4	B 4.134		-.366	-.136	.185	-.424	.225	.051	4;430
	SE		.105	.053	.013	.039			
	F		12.192*	6.528*	1.920	1.131			

N = 434

* Significant at greater than .05.

both commuter status and length of residence in the community are weakly, but significantly, related to involvement in local political activities.

The second question in this group focused upon political interest, rather than actual involvement. Respondents were asked how interested, but not necessarily involved, they were in the function and performance of their town/village council, and in local government generally (Variable 6). The functional relationship here between criterion and indicator variables takes the form:

$$\text{Variable 6} = f(\text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{SES}, \text{COMSTATUS})$$

Multiple regression analysis with stepwise inclusions of these indicators revealed that RES in this instance accounted for 64.5 percent of the small proportion of explained variation (3.1 percent). COMSTATUS contributed a further 16.1 percent to the explained total. Only RES was found to be statistically significant at greater than .05, maintaining consistent F values at all inclusion levels.

The final question in this group asked respondents to what extent they were involved in local non political community activities, such as charities, Boy Scouts/Girl Guides, etc. (Variable 4). Simple correlations between criterion and indicator variables suggested a functional relationship of the form:

$$\text{Variable 4} = f(\text{AGE}, \text{RES}, \text{SES}, \text{COMSTATUS})$$

The regression model reproduced in Table 5.8 shows that RES again accounted for a high proportion of the total explained variation. COMSTATUS added 11 percent to the 73 percent accounted for by RES. Both RES and COMSTATUS maintained consistent F values throughout all inclusion levels and were statistically significant at greater than .05. As in the other questions relating to this area of concern, age of respondent was conspicuously

Table 5.8

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES (VARIABLE 4): STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	RES	COMSTATUS	SES	AGE	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 3.594	-.285			.206	.042	19.274*	1;433	
	SE .065	.065							
	F 19.274*	19.274*							
2	B 3.842	-.282	-.243		.222	.049	11.287*	2;432	
	SE .064	.064	.135						
	F 18.991*	18.991*	3.204*						
3	B 3.755	-.296	-.257	.262	.233	.054	8.298*	3;431	
	SE .065	.065	.135	.017					
	F 20.505*	20.505*	3.588*	2.254					
4	B 3.843	-.263	-.283	.274	-.673	.241	.058	4;430	
	SE .070	.070	.137	.017	.052				
	F 14.214*	14.214*	4.270*	2.458	1.669				

N = 435

* Significant at greater than .05.

absent as an intervening variable. It appears, then, that length of residence in the community is a major indicator, among those considered, of community involvement. Local political involvement, however, seems to be mediated by commuter status. Notwithstanding, the large proportion of unexplained variation is a significant factor.

Residential Satisfaction

Three questions relating to this area of concern were incorporated into the survey questionnaire. Here, the logical choice of indicator variables was an issue. Previous discussion of the theoretical aspects of residential satisfaction suggested little direct relationship with specific socioeconomic characteristics. It will be recalled that Hensler found that social homogeneity added nothing to the predictability of community feelings. Similarly, Michelson found that neither social rank nor stage in the life cycle varied systematically with choice of community environment. In fact, Michelson's research indicates that community satisfaction is largely a function of the consonance between individual values and the experienced environment; in other words, the extent to which a given community environment is compatible with an individual's preconceived notions of what the community should represent.

For these reasons locational motivation (Variable 1) was selected, along with other indicators that the simple correlation matrix showed to be related to this area of concern, as an indicator of residential satisfaction.

The first question in this group asked respondents whether they felt that the community, as a whole, was compatible with their values and lifestyle (Variable 59). The simple correlation matrix supported a weak relationship between locational motivation and this criterion variable. The relationship between these variables and the other rele-

vant indicators may be presented in the form

$$\text{Variable 59} = f(\text{Variable 1, RES, ACCOM, COMSTATUS})$$

Multiple regression analysis showed the total proportion of explained variation to be extremely small (.09 percent), although it confirmed Variable 1 to be the primary indicator. Table 5.9 shows that the latter accounted for 55.5 percent of the total explained variation. However, none of the included indicators proved to be statistically significant at greater than .05.

The second question asked respondents whether they felt that their neighbors, as a whole, belonged to the same social class as themselves (Variable 80). The same indicators were used in this regression model, suggesting the functional form

$$\text{Variable 60} = f(\text{Variable 1, RES, ACCOM, COMSTATUS})$$

Again, the regression model, with stepwise inclusions of these indicators, showed the proportion of explained variation to be extremely small (.06 percent). COMSTATUS accounted for 50 percent of the total. None of the indicators were shown to be statistically significant at greater than .05.

The final question in this group asked respondents to what extent they felt that, by deciding to reside in their present community, they had improved or impaired their social position (Variable 61). As in the other two related questions, locational motivation was included as a possible indicator variable, together with RES, ACCOM, and COMSTATUS. The anticipated functional relationship between criterion and indicator variables is thus

$$\text{Variable 61} = f(\text{Variable 1, RES, ACCOM, COMSTATUS})$$

Table 5.9

LIFESTYLE COMPATIBILITY (VARIABLE 59): STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	Var. 1	COMSTATUS	RES	ACCOM	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 1.191	-.493				.076	.005	2.748	1;470
	SE	.029							
	F	2.748							
2	B 1.159	-.530	.310			.095	.009	2.165	2;469
	SE	.029	.024						
	F	3.149*	1.579						
3	B 1.162	-.532	.313	-.449		.097	.009	1.510	3;468
	SE	.029	.024	.000					
	F	3.166*	1.602	.209					

(F level insufficient for further computation).

N = 472

* Significant at greater than .05.

Multiple regression analysis with stepwise inclusions of these indicators revealed that ACCOM accounted for 91 percent of the total explained variation, which, as Table 5.10 shows, was again very small (1.1 percent). An examination of the regression coefficient F values for ACCOM reveals that they remained consistent throughout all inclusion levels; they were also statistically significant at greater than .05. Thus, while the proportion of explained variation was extremely small, the data indicate that this issue is mediated to some extent by respondents' prior accommodation.

Summary

The most significant factor to emerge from these analyses was the generally small proportion of explained variation accounted for by the indicator variables. This suggests that while these variables may be cited in the literature as determinants of fringe community related attitudes and behaviors, they are not extensively involved in the Edmonton experience. Nevertheless, several of the multiple regression models indicated some statistical significance.

Age of respondent appears to mediate some, but not all, of these attitudes and behaviors. It was present in responses relating to locational motivation, attitudes toward the man-made environment, and concern for the community. It was totally absent from responses relating to local community involvement and residential satisfaction. A respondent's age is a predictable intervening variable, and may be logically expected to demonstrate some association with several of the indicator variables used in these analyses. These associations have already been discussed.

Within the parameters established by the indicator variables, locational motivation was found to be essentially a function of immediately

Table 5.10

SOCIAL POSITION (VARIABLE 61): STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL CONSIDERED VARIABLES

Step	Constant	ACCOM	COMSTATUS	RES	VAR. 1	R	R ²	F	df
1	B 2.851							.102	.010
	SE .030							4.949*	4.949*
	F 4.949*								1;470
2	B 2.911								
	SE .081								
	F 5.244*								
3	B 2.900								
	SE .082								
	F 5.104*								
4	B 2.917								
	SE .084								
	F 4.930*								

N = 472.

* Significant at greater than .05.

prior accommodation. This is fairly consistent with the findings of the profile chapter, which, it will be recalled, showed that the quest for single family dwelling ownership was a significant, although not exclusive, priority among respondents.

The relationship of the indicator variables to attitudes toward the man-made community environment was more obtuse. Assuming age of respondent to be an intervening variable, socioeconomic status was significantly involved in four of the five questions relating to this area of concern. Several findings support the literature, particularly with respect to the 'home centered' and 'community centered' groups suggested by Michelson and Clark. Responses to the hypothetical construction proposals revealed that socioeconomic status was weakly, but significantly, related to respondent attitudes toward the immediate home environment. Nevertheless, commuter status accounted for most of the explained variation in attitudes toward the location of these proposals 'elsewhere in the community'. Both locational motivation (as an indicator variable) and length of residence in the community were significantly related to the broader issues of growth alternatives and eventual spatial contiguity with Edmonton.

Although the proportion of explained variation was low, concern for the community was found to be partly a function of commuter status and length of residence in the community. Similar findings emerged from questions relating to local community involvement. Apart from the intervention of respondent's age, however, length of residence was proportionately the most significant indicator among these two areas of concern. The profile data presented in the previous chapter support the literature, particularly the work of Pahl, Sinclair and Westhues, and Graber, in suggesting that commuter status and length of residence are interrelated.

Very little significant data emerged from the regression of considered indicator variables on responses to questions representing residential satisfaction. The proportion of explained variation was so low as to be of little practical utility. It was interesting to note, however, that prior accommodation (operationalized as an indicator) was significantly related to respondents' self appraisal of the extent to which moving to Edmonton's fringe had affected their social position. This again tends to support the evidence that single family home ownership, which was almost exclusively the form of accommodation occupied by respondents, is a major factor in fringe community settlement, in the Edmonton area.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The Profile

The data derived from this study suggest that many of the communities lying within commuting range of Edmonton are serving a significant, although not exclusive, function of providing housing for Edmonton's workforce. This is reflected in much of the demographic information yielded by the survey questionnaire.

It would appear that population expansion in these communities is mediated to a large extent by their spatial relationship to Edmonton. Not surprisingly, those lying close to the city have grown more rapidly than those more distant; the population trends discussed previously tend to confirm this. However, there appeared to be no systematic relationship between distance from Edmonton and respondents' socioeconomic characteristics. In fact, those communities that had obviously come within Edmonton's zone of influence displayed a large degree of uniformity in several areas of analysis regardless of population size. New Sarepta, with a population of less than three hundred and 48 kilometers from Edmonton, was consistently atypical throughout the profile. It was apparent in both this community and, to a lesser degree, Bon Accord, that neither had yet fully assumed the "suburban" role.

Despite some overall socioeconomic uniformity, the six sample communities generated several unique individual characteristics. As a result, some caution is necessary when making generalizations based upon the total sample. One of the most noticeable factors to emerge from the profile data was accommodation. An overwhelming majority of the respondents in all six communities declared that they were living in single family dwellings at the time of the survey. When this variable was compared with the proportion of

respondents who were occupying similar accommodation immediately prior to their present location the importance of housing at Edmonton's fringe comes sharply into focus. The high incidence of single family dwelling ownership is to be expected in smaller communities that presently offer no alternatives other than mobile homes. An attempt was made to determine whether a systematic relationship existed between prior residence and prior accommodation. Crosstabulation revealed that a larger proportion of migrants from Edmonton had previously occupied multiple family dwellings than those from other areas. This again is not entirely surprising, although it adds further weight to the probability that these communities are providing housing at prices that are no longer obtainable in the central city.

Some of the most noticeable uniformity among the sample communities could be found in respondent age and family characteristics. These data again point to the emergent role of Edmonton's fringe communities as a source of accommodation for younger married couples with children. New Sarepta had a larger proportion of older respondents and fewer children under the age of eighteen still living at home.

From a temporal standpoint, all six communities appear to be developing along the lines of many north American suburbs: they are predominantly of British or European ancestry, English speaking, and Protestant. Nevertheless, historical circumstances in two of the former rural service/trade centers have introduced a distinctly Catholic, French Canadian identity into Morinville and still persists. Similarly, New Sarepta, which was originally settled by German immigrants, remains significantly Lutheran in religious affiliation, although the majority of respondents declared that they spoke English in the home.

The economic relationship between Edmonton and the six sample communities was clearly identified. Edmonton was found to be a significant

source of employment in terms of the total sample, but the proportion of respondents who declared working in Edmonton or vicinity varied widely among the communities. The fact that 72 percent of Sherwood Park's respondents worked in Edmonton confirms its founding function as a dormitory town for Edmonton's population overspill. Distant New Sarepta had the lowest proportion of Edmonton commuters. No systematic relationship was found to exist between place of work and distance from Edmonton or population size.

In terms of the total sample, respondents' incomes, education levels and occupations did not approximate those enjoyed by the archetypal fringe resident described in the British and, to a lesser extent, North American, literature. However, it has been observed that incomes must meet or exceed specific minimums in order to qualify for home mortgages. This factor alone sets socioeconomic parameters that are certainly above what sociologists choose to call the 'lower classes'. The sample derived from the six communities selected for this study conforms rather loosely to the 'lower-middle class' characteristics described in the literature. The communities of Bon Accord, Devon, Morvinville, and Spruce Grove were uniform in this regard; Sherwood Park and New Sarepta were atypical. The formers' respondents had generally higher incomes and education levels, and a greater proportion of professional occupations than the remaining sample communities. New Sarepta demonstrated the reverse. These data were supported by the SES scores, which showed Sherwood Park respondents to have a greater proportion of higher SES scores and New Sarepta respondents to have a lower proportion than the other sample communities. However, at the total sample level the data showed a rather narrow range of SES scores, suggesting an essentially homogeneous population in terms of incomes, education levels, and occupational prestige.

The dormitory function of these communities is reflected to some

extent in respondents' leisure activities and purchasing patterns. However, the broad population range among the sample communities dictates caution when offering generalized statements with respect to these characteristics. Nearly 48 percent of the total sample spent less than 20 percent of its leisure time in the local community. Although some variation was found among the sample communities, the relationship between population size and locally spent leisure activities was not so distinct as might be expected. Both New Sarepta and Bon Accord had the highest proportion of respondents spending less than 20 percent of their leisure activities locally. This was not considered surprising in view of the fact that neither community had a well developed central core nor extensive structured leisure facilities. Devon's respondents appeared to spend the greatest proportion of leisure time locally.

Similar patterns were noted with respect to local purchases of goods and services. Here again, it must be expected that these patterns would be mediated by local availability, which was clearly an issue in Bon Accord and New Sarepta. It must also be reiterated that only six representative goods and services were specified in the survey questionnaire. Nevertheless, it was found that neither population size nor distance from Edmonton was systematically related to most of these purchases. Like those in the smaller communities, the majority of Sherwood Park's respondents indicated that they purchased expensive goods in Edmonton. Day-to-day purchases, such as groceries, were obtained locally wherever available. The purchase of services seems to be based on levels of skill involved and local availability. For example, the smaller communities largely obtained dental care in Edmonton, while about half of Sherwood Park's respondents followed this pattern. A little more than half of the total respondents obtained hair-cutting/hairdressing services locally. These data suggest that while

Edmonton's fringe residents give economic support to their local community to some extent, the central city exerts considerable influence upon purchasing habits. Ease of access to Edmonton is clearly a major incentive for many respondents, particularly in view of the fact that over half commuted daily to work in the central city.

It was also apparent that most of the respondents did not 'idealize' their fringe community to the extent that has been suggested in the literature. About half considered themselves to be living in a suburb or dormitory town; only 14 percent characterized their community as a small, traditional rural place. Nevertheless, considerable variation was found among the communities in this regard, most of which appears to be related to population size. A larger proportion of respondents in the smaller communities characterized their community in traditional terms than those in Devon, Sherwood Park, and Spruce Grove. Over 30 percent of Morinville's respondents described their community as traditionally rural, compared to 6.7 percent in Sherwood Park. It may be assumed, therefore, that as these communities expand, they are likely to become increasingly regarded by their residents as little more than suburbs. While it is probable that older, long term residents will tend to cling to their former conception of the local community, rapid population growth as a result of Edmonton's economic influence will serve to outweigh these sentiments. Some support for this argument may be found in the fact that over 75 percent of the respondents utilized in this study had resided in their present location less than 11 years.

Attitude and Behavior Responses

The most significant finding to emerge from data gathered on community related attitudes and behaviors was the large proportion of unexplained variation produced by the multiple regression procedures. This suggests

that the indicator variables cited in the literature and selectively used in the regression models may not enjoy as much relevance in the Edmonton experience. There is also a possibility that methodological errors may have gone unnoticed.

Nevertheless, several of the regression models revealed statistically significant relationships between indicator and criterion variables. Length of residence in the community collectively accounted for the greatest proportion of explained variation; commuter status and prior accommodation also emerged frequently as primary indicator variables. Only parent status failed to show any statistically significant relationship with the criterion variables. Results of multiple regression with criterion variables representing residential satisfaction were virtually nonsignificant. Only one of the criterion variables produced significant results and the proportion of explained variation was so low as to be practically worthless.

Suburbs and Fringe Communities

Although no systematic comparison was attempted in this study, the literature indicates that the communities sampled differ very little from 'suburbs' in their socioeconomic and demographic make-up. As discussed in Chapter Two, the major elements of distinction between 'fringe communities' and 'suburbs' appear to be those concerned with spatial and workforce characteristics. It may be assumed, then, that in the Edmonton experience these fringe communities are, for all practical purposes, discontiguous suburbs. There is every likelihood that those close to the central city will eventually become annexed.

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APPENDIX A
'NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT' DESCRIPTIONS
AND FREQUENCIES

'NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT' DESCRIPTIONS AND FREQUENCIES

Code	Nature of Employment	Frequency
001	Farmer	24
002	Welder	14
003	Secretary	04
004	Telephone Equipment Worker	02
005	Retired/Disabled	39
006	Professional Engineer	17
007	Draftsperson	07
008	Business Owner/Operator	44
009	Telecommunications Worker	11
010	Teacher/Instructor (Accredited)	28
011	Construction Consultant	04
012	Customer Service Worker	02
013	Secretary Treasurer	01
014	Technician	23
015	Retail Salesperson	36
016	Bookkeeper	01
017	Crew Leader	01
018	Pipeline Worker	03
019	Administrator	16
020	Textile Worker	01
021	Pharmacist	04
022	Painter/Decorator	03
023	Oilfield Supplies Supervisor	01
024	Superintendent/Custodian	02
025	Furniture Mover	01
026	Mechanic	37
027	Carpenter	11
028	Civil Servant (Administrative)	10
029	Financial Services Worker	07
030	Landscape Architect	01
031	Gas Plant Operator	04
032	Tool and Die Maker	01
033	Postal Worker	04
034	Housekeeper	09
035	Oilfield Worker	14
036	Purchasing Agent	04
037	Plumber	11
038	Construction Foreman	02
039	Planner	02
040	Nurse	04
041	Law Enforcement Worker	07
042	Geologist	01
043	Mill Wright	05
044	Equipment Operator	09
045	Social Worker	03
046	Transportation Worker (Truck Driver, Bus Driver, etc.).	10
047	Research Worker	04
048	Air Traffic Controller	04
049	Construction Worker	18
050	Student	03
051	Real Estate Salesperson	09
052	Estimator/Quantity Surveyor	02

Code	Nature of Employment	Frequency
053	Health Service Worker	07
054	Service Manager	02
055	Cook	01
056	Office Clerk	12
057	Fire Protection Worker	04
058	Handyman	04
059	Ticket Agent	02
060	Physician	01
061	Drilling Supervisor	01
062	Glazier	01
063	Building Contractor	08
064	Electrician	15
065	Office Manager/Supervisor	19
066	Land Surveyor	01
067	Tradesman (unspecified)	01
068	Accountant (Certified)	08
069	Laborer	05
070	Technologist	09
071	Shipper/Receiver/Dispatcher	01
072	Librarian	01
073	Boilermaker	03
074	Gas Station Attendant	01
075	Sales Manager	10
076	Business Manager	16
077	Agricultural Worker	01
078	Catering/Food Services Manager	01
079	Armed Forces Worker	03
080	Janitor	02
081	Warehouse Worker	04
082	Auditor	01
083	Construction Superintendent	04
084	Steam Fitter	05
085	Factory Worker	09
086	Building Inspector	02
087	Factory/Shop Foreman	03
088	Insurance Adjuster	02
089	Computer Programmer	03
090	Sales Representative	19
091	Restaurant Owner	01
092	Hydrologist	01
093	University/College Professor	01
094	Metallurgist	01
095	Maintenance Worker	09
096	Store Manager	01
097	Clergyman	03
098	Employment Counsellor	01
099	Dental Mechanic	01
100	Auditor	01
101	Forensic Specialist	01
102	Aircraft Pilot (Unspecified)	04
103	Program Manager	01
104	School Principal	02
105	Stock Broker	01

Code	Nature of Employment	Frequency
106	Company Vice-President	01
107	Systems Analyst	01
108	Plant Manager	04
109	Survey Supervisor	01
110	Security Guard	02
111	Safety Worker (Unspecified)	02
112	Company Executive	02
113	Catering/Food Services Worker	01
114	Photographer	01
115	Mortgage Broker	01
116	Field Supervisor (Unspecified)	01
117	Financial Consultant	02
118	Economist	01
119	Gardener	01
120	Assessor (Unspecified)	01
121	Statistician	01
122	Public Relations Worker	01
123	Insurance Broker	01
124	Toxicologist	01
125	Bank Manager	01
126	Mechanical Contractor	01
127	Psychologist	01
999	Non Response	22

N = 757.

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE AND COVERING LETTERS

DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY
PHONE (403) 432-4225
RURAL ECONOMY



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
T6G 2H1

September, 1977.

Dear Householder:

We are presently conducting a survey to determine residents' attitudes toward certain types of growth and change in urban fringe communities. Your name was selected at random from the current telephone directory.

We would be most grateful if you could spare the time to complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the attached yellow envelope; postage has been prepaid. At the same time we would like you to mail the white 'confirmation card'; this simply tells us that you have responded. In order to ensure the confidentiality of your questionnaire, we, not you, have placed your address on the reverse side of the 'confirmation card'. In this way your handwriting cannot be crosschecked. Do not identify the questionnaire in any way and do not sign it. Incidentally, the number at the top of the questionnaire and on the yellow envelope and the card is merely to identify the sample community. We are surveying a total of six towns and villages around Edmonton at this time.

Please note that the questionnaire should be completed by the head of household. For the purpose of this project 'head of household' is considered to be the male spouse of a married couple, regardless of whether his income is greater or less than that of his wife. Obviously 'head of household' in the case of a single person or a single parent (including a parent who is divorced or legally separated) needs no qualification.

If you would like further information on this project, please call me at the above number during normal office hours.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours truly,

Daryll G. Murri,
Associate Professor

dh



DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY
 PHONE (403) 432-4225
RURAL ECONOMY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
 EDMONTON, ALBERTA
 T6G 2H1

October, 1977.

Dear Householder:

We recently distributed a survey questionnaire to your community in order to obtain information upon resident attitudes toward growth and change at the urban fringe. As you know, many communities such as yours are now expanding. A number are encountering social and economic problems created by weak tax bases and inadequate facilities. We in this department are mainly interested in the type of people who are moving to these communities, and this is why we are asking questions about such things as educational backgrounds and income.

If you can spare the time we would like you to complete the questionnaire that we forwarded a few weeks ago. In case you have mislaid it we are enclosing a replacement and another postage prepaid return envelope. We would like to reiterate that the information you give us cannot be traced back to you. Some respondents have expressed concern over the number appearing at the top of the questionnaire. This is merely to identify the sample community; we are studying six towns and villages around Edmonton and these have been numbered from 2 to 7 (#1 was a pretest).

Again, would you please note that the questionnaire should be completed by the head of household who, for this purpose is considered to be the male spouse of a married couple, regardless of whether his income is greater or less than that of his wife. We readily acknowledge that this terminology is somewhat archaic, but for analytical purposes we need to standardize the source of response. If this stipulation were not made we would have no idea whether the questionnaire had been completed by the wife, the husband, or even older children!

If you would like to discuss the survey with us, feel free to call our office any time during normal office hours. We would be glad to hear from you.

Yours truly,

Daryll G. Murri,
 Associate Professor

dh

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL ECONOMY

EDMONTON REGIONAL
COMMUNITY SURVEY

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE BE ANSWERED ONLY BY THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD.

Please ensure that ALL the questions are answered. However, only one response per question should be checked off, even if two or more may have some relevance. Simply place an 'X' in the small square box opposite your selected response. Please do not mark the numbered circles; these are used for our coding system.

This questionnaire is designed to be completely confidential, and will be so provided you do not identify it in any way. Do not place your name or address anywhere on the form and do not sign it. When you have completed all the questions place the form in the envelope provided and deposit the same in the nearest mailbox. Return postage has been prepaid.

You will notice that a small white postcard has also been enclosed. This is a 'confirmation card' which, if you mail it back at the same time as your completed questionnaire, tells us that you have responded. However, we, not you, place your name and/or address on the back so that no one can cross check your handwriting with that on the questionnaire. Make sure that you mail this card separately.

1 Please state the major reason why you took up residence in this community.

High cost of housing in Edmonton... I prefer to live in a small(er) community..... I obtained work here..... I was born and raised here..... Other reason (specify):

2 To what extent did 'ease of access' to Edmonton influence your decision to reside in this community?

A very large extent..... A moderate extent..... A small extent..... Not important.....

3 How would you characterize your community? (not necessarily how it is legally classified)

As a small 'traditional' rural community..... As a small town/village..... As a dormitory town/village..... As a suburb of Edmonton.....

4 How involved are you in local (non political) community activities such as charities, Boy Scouts/Girl Guides etc.?

Extensively..... Moderately..... Only occasionally..... Not at all.....

5 How involved are you in the function and performance of your town/village council, and local government generally?

Very involved..... Moderately involved..... Not very involved..... Not involved at all.....

6 How interested (but not necessarily involved) are you in the function and performance of your town/village council, and local government generally?

Very interested..... Moderately interested..... Not very interested..... Not interested at all.....

7 Are you aware of the work of the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission insofar as it affects the growth and development of your community?

Yes..... No.....

8 Have you been, or are you presently, involved in the citizen participation aspects of the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission, insofar as its work affects the growth and development of this community?

Very involved..... Moderately involved..... Not very involved..... Not involved at all.....

9 How concerned are you about the planned growth and development of this community?

Very concerned.....①□
Moderately concerned.....②□
Not very concerned.....③□
Not concerned at all.....④□

10 Do you feel that your opinions, together with those expressed by other citizens, can influence the decisions of government planning agencies with respect to the planned growth and development of communities such as yours?

Yes.....①□
No.....②□

11 Approximately, what percentage of your leisure activities, such as dining-out, movie-going, bingo, social clubs etc., are spent in this community? (Do not include local community or local political activities in this response)

0%.....①□	50 - 59%.....⑦□
1 - 9%.....②□	60 - 69%.....⑥□
10 - 19%.....③□	70 - 79%.....⑨□
20 - 29%.....④□	80 - 89%.....⑩□
30 - 39%.....⑤□	90 - 99%.....⑪□
40 - 49%.....⑥□	100%.....⑫□

12 How long have you lived in this community?

①□ yrs

13 Where were you living immediately before you came to this community?

Within Edmonton's corporate limits.....①□
Within 25 miles of Edmonton.....②□
Within this province.....③□
Elsewhere in Canada.....④□
Outside Canada.....⑤□

14 In what type of accommodation are you presently residing?

Single family dwelling (a detached house that has not been subdivided).....①□
Duplex.....②□
Condominium.....③□
Low income (subsidized) housing.....④□
Row house.....⑤□
Apartment/residential hotel.....⑥□
Mobile home.....⑦□

15 In what type of accommodation were you residing immediately before you came to this community?

Single family dwelling (a detached house that has not been subdivided).....①□
Duplex.....②□
Condominium.....③□
Low income (subsidized) housing.....④□
Row house.....⑤□
Apartment/residential hotel.....⑥□
Mobile home.....⑦□
Living with parents/relatives.....⑧□

16 How old is your present accommodation?

①□ yrs

17 Please state whether you own or rent/lease your present accommodation.

Rented/leased.....①□
Owned.....②□

18 What was your age on your last birthday?

①□ yrs

19 Please state your sex.

Male.....①□
Female.....②□

20 What is your present marital status?

Single.....①□
Married (including common law).....②□
Divorced/legally separated.....③□
Widowed.....④□

21 Please give the number of your children (if any) still living at home who were under the age of 18 on their last birthday.

①□

22 What is the total number of people in your household?

①□

23 What language do you usually speak at home?

24 To which country was your ancestor (on the male side) native prior to coming to this continent?

25 To what religious denomination do you belong?



26 How important was the ethnic and/or religious composition of this community (ie: predominantly French, Ukrainian, Catholic etc.) in making your decision to live here?

Very important.....①□
Moderately important.....②□
Not very important.....③□
Not important at all.....④□

27 Please check the highest level of Education attained.

Less than grade 7 (or equivalent).....①□
Grades 7 - 8.....②□
Grades 9 - 10.....③□
Grades 11 - 12.....④□
High school graduation.....⑤□
Some technical/vocational college.....⑥□
Some university.....⑦□
Technica/vocational college graduation.....⑧□
University degree(s).....⑨□
Advanced university degree(s).....⑩□

28 What is the nature of your present employment? (Please give the type of work, rather than the place of work).



29 In which of the following occupational categories would you place your present employment?

Large farm owner.....①□
Medium sized farm owner.....②□
Small farm owner.....③□
Large tenant farmer.....④□
Medium sized tenant farmer.....⑤□
Small tenant farmer.....⑥□
Manual worker.....⑦□
Business man (large firm).....⑧□
Business man (medium sized firm).....⑨□
Business man (small firm).....⑩□
Clerk/kinred worker.....⑪□
Proprietor/manager (large firm).....⑫□
Proprietor/manager (medium sized firm).....⑬□
Proprietor/manager (small firm).....⑭□
Professional (self employed).....⑮□
Professional (salaried).....⑯□
Protective/service worker.....⑰□
Retired/permantly incapacitated.....⑱□

30 What is your total gross annual income, including that of your spouse if he/she resides continuously in the same residence?

\$0 -	\$4,999.....	①□
\$5,000 -	\$9,999.....	②□
\$10,000 -	\$14,999.....	③□
\$15,000 -	\$19,999.....	④□
\$20,000 -	\$24,999.....	⑤□
\$25,000 -	\$29,999.....	⑥□
\$30,000 -	\$34,999.....	⑦□
\$35,000 -	\$39,999.....	⑧□
\$40,000 -	\$44,999.....	⑨□
\$45,000 -	\$49,999.....	⑩□
\$50,000 and over.....		⑪□

31 What is your total gross annual income, excluding that of your spouse?

\$0 -	\$4,999.....	①□
\$5,000 -	\$9,999.....	②□
\$10,000 -	\$14,999.....	③□
\$15,000 -	\$19,999.....	④□
\$20,000 -	\$24,999.....	⑤□
\$25,000 -	\$29,999.....	⑥□
\$30,000 -	\$34,999.....	⑦□
\$35,000 -	\$39,999.....	⑧□
\$40,000 -	\$44,999.....	⑨□
\$45,000 -	\$49,999.....	⑩□
\$50,000 and over.....		⑪□

32 Where is your present regular place of work located?

Within Edmonton's corporate limits.....①□
Within one mile outside Edmonton's corporate limits.....②□
In this community.....③□
Within a one mile radius of this community.....④□
Elsewhere.....⑤□
Not applicable (retired etc.).....⑥□

33 Are you presently self employed? (If retired or permanently incapacitated please answer no).

Yes.....①□
No.....②□

State how favourably, or unfavourably, you would react to proposals for the development of the following types of industrial complexes in: a. the immediate vicinity of your home and b. elsewhere in the community. Please answer these questions even if the immediate vicinity of your home is already fully developed.

continued on page 4...

Unfavourably
Very
Unfavourably
Indifferently
Favourably
Very
Favourably
Unfavourably
Very
Unfavourably

Unfavourably
Very
Unfavourably
Indifferently
Favourably
Very
Favourably
Unfavourably
Very
Unfavourably

34 SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENCES

	1	2	3	4	5
Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

35 MULTIPLE FAMILY DWELLINGS

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

36 LOW INCOME HOUSING

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

37 OIL AND GAS PROCESSING
PLANT(S)

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

38 HEAVY MANUFACTURING
PLANT(S)

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

39 LIGHT MANUFACTURING
PLANT(S)

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

40 LUMBER PROCESSING

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

41 AGRICULTURAL
PROCESSING

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

State how favourably, or unfavourably, you would react to proposals for the development of the following facilities in: a. the immediate vicinity of your home and b. elsewhere in the community. Please answer these questions even if the immediate vicinity of your home is already fully developed.

42 HOTEL WITH
BEER PARLOR

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

43 HOTEL WITHOUT
BEER PARLOR

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

44 LIQUOR STORE

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

45 DANCE HALL

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

46 MOVIE THEATRE

Immediate vicinity of your home.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ①				
Elsewhere in the community.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ②				

continued on page 5...

47 MAJOR SHOPPING CENTER

Immediate vicinity 1 2 3 4 5
 of your home.....□ □ □ □ □①
 Elsewhere in the
community.....□ □ □ □ □②

48 CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUND

Immediate vicinity
of your home.....□ □ □ □ □①
 Elsewhere in the
community.....□ □ □ □ □②

49 COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CLINIC

Immediate vicinity
of your home.....□ □ □ □ □①
 Elsewhere in the
community.....□ □ □ □ □②

50 PARK AREA

Immediate vicinity
of your home.....□ □ □ □ □①
 Elsewhere in the
community.....□ □ □ □ □②

51 FULL-TIME LIBRARY

Immediate vicinity
of your home.....□ □ □ □ □①
 Elsewhere in the
community.....□ □ □ □ □②

52 Where do you normally purchase the following goods and services?

Major grocery purchases.....①□ □ □
 Large appliances/furniture...②□ □ □
 Expensive adult clothing.....③□ □ □
 Work clothes (overalls, parkas,
boots, etc.).....④□ □ □
 Haircutting/hairdressing.....⑤□ □ □
 Dental care.....⑥□ □ □

From the following alternatives, how
would you prefer to see your community
develop (assuming that some growth is
inevitable)?

53 As a totally residential community,
without industrial development of any
kind.....⑦□54 As a largely residential community,
but with a limited amount of non
polluting industry to support the
tax base.....⑧□

55 As a residential/industrial community
with unlimited industrial development,
provided it is non polluting.....⑨□

56 As a residential/industrial community
with unlimited industrial development
of all types (polluting and non
polluting).....⑩□

57 How much overall growth (population,
new construction etc.) would you like
to see in this community?

An unlimited amount.....⑪□
 A moderate amount.....⑫□
 Very little.....⑬□
 None at all.....⑭□

58 Do you, or would you, object to your
community eventually being linked to
the City of Edmonton by urban
development?

Yes.....⑮□
 No.....⑯□

59 Do you feel that this community, as
a whole, is compatible with your
values and lifestyle?

Yes.....⑰□
 No.....⑱□

60 Do you feel that, as a whole, your
immediate neighbors belong to the
same social class as yourself?

Yes.....⑲□
 No: they mostly belong to a lower
class.....⑳□
 No: they mostly belong to a higher
class.....㉑□

61 To what extent do you feel that, by
deciding to live in this community,
you have improved or impaired your
social position?

Considerably improved.....⑲□
 Moderately improved.....⑳□
 No change.....㉑□
 Moderately impaired.....㉒□
 Considerably impaired.....㉓□
 Not applicable (always lived here).....㉔□

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE/BEHAVIOR RESPONSE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE/BEHAVIOR RESPONSE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

Note: Variable numbers correspond with those used in the survey questionnaire.

Section: Locational Motivation

a) Variable 1

Locational Motivation	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(Percent)	(Percent)	(Percent)
High Cost of Living	276	36.5	36.5	36.8
Prefer to Live Here	287	38.0	38.2	75.0
My Work is Here	107	14.1	14.2	89.2
Born and Raised Here	65	8.6	8.7	97.9
Other	17	2.2	2.3	100.0
Non Response	6	0.8	--	100.0

N = 757

Valid Cases = 751

b) Variable 2

Ease of Access	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(Percent)	(Percent)	(Percent)
Large Extent	270	35.7	35.9	35.9
Moderate Extent	223	29.5	29.7	65.6
Small Extent	113	14.9	15.0	80.6
Not Important	146	19.3	19.4	100.0
Non Response	5	0.7	--	100.0

N = 757

Valid Cases = 752

Section 2: Attitudes Toward the Local Man-Made Environment

a) Variable 34

Single Family Residence	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	88	11.6	35	4.6
Unfavorably	62	8.2	42	5.5
Indifferently	82	10.8	104	17.7
Favorably	197	26.0	194	25.6
Very Favorably	292	38.6	295	39.0
Non Response	36	4.8	87	11.5

Vicinity: N = 757; Valid Cases = 721.

Elsewhere: N = 757; Valid Cases = 670.

Variable 35

Multiple Family Dwellings	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	317	41.9	122	16.1
Unfavorably	190	25.1	118	15.6
Indifferently	95	12.5	211	27.9
Favorably	57	7.5	166	21.9
Very Favorably	34	4.5	89	11.8
Non Response	64	8.5	51	6.7

Vicinity: N = 757; Valid Cases = 693.

Elsewhere: N = 757; Valid cases = 706.

Variable 36

Low Income Housing	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	369	48.7	173	22.9
Unfavorably	155	20.5	128	16.9
Indifferently	83	11.0	179	23.6
Favorably	51	6.7	149	19.7
Very Favorably	32	4.2	81	10.7
Non Response	67	8.9	47	6.2

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 690; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 710

Variable 37

Oil & Gas Processing Plant(s)	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(Percent)	
Very Unfavorably	519	68.6	273	36.1
Unfavorably	98	12.9	103	13.6
Indifferently	38	5.0	122	16.1
Favorably	23	3.0	115	15.2
Very Favorably	10	1.3	108	14.3
Non Response	69	9.1	36	4.8

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 68 ; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 721

Variable 38

Heavy Manufacturing Plant(s)	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	518	68.4	242	32.0
Unfavorably	97	12.8	89	11.8
Indifferently	33	4.4	112	14.8
Favorably	19	2.5	164	21.7
Very Favorably	14	1.8	119	15.7
Non Response	76	10.0	31	4.1

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 681; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 726.

Variable 39

Light Manufacturing Plant(s)	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	390	51.5	92	12.2
Unfavorably	126	16.6	61	8.1
Indifferently	81	10.7	157	20.7
Favorably	67	8.9	220	29.1
Very Favorably	20	2.6	194	25.6
Non Response	73	9.6	33	4.4

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 684; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 724.

Variable 40

Lumber Processing	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(Percent)	
Very Unfavorably	488	64.5	209	27.6
Unfavorably	115	15.2	94	12.4
Indifferently	41	5.4	141	18.6
Favorably	29	3.8	155	20.5
Very Favorably	10	1.3	128	16.9
Non Response	74	9.8	30	4.0

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 683; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 727.

Variable 41

Agricultural Processing	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	418	55.2	135	17.8
Unfavorably	114	15.1	75	9.9
Indifferently	71	9.4	168	22.2
Favorably	50	6.6	193	25.5
Very Favorably	29	3.8	147	19.4
Non Response	75	3.8	39	5.2

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 682; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 718.

Variable 42

Hotel With Beer Parlor	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	409	54.0	93	12.3
Unfavorably	142	18.8	63	8.3
Indifferently	84	11.1	226	29.9
Favorably	41	5.4	228	30.1
Very Favorably	23	3.0	102	13.5
Non Response	58	7.7	45	5.9

Vicinity: N=757, Valid Cases = 699; Elsewhere: N=757, Valid Cases = 712.

Variable 43

Hotel Without Beer Parlor	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	338	44.6	59	7.8
Unfavorably	133	17.6	42	5.5
Indifferently	142	18.8	263	34.7
Favorably	66	8.7	234	30.9
Very Favorably	17	2.2	114	15.1
Non Response	61	8.1	45	5.9

Vicinity: N=757, Valid Cases = 696; Elsewhere: N=757, Valid Cases = 712.

Variable 44

Liquor Store	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	324	42.8	67	8.9
Unfavorably	130	17.2	36	4.8
Indifferent	136	18.0	231	30.5
Favorably	70	9.2	239	31.6
Very Favorably	39	5.2	138	18.2
Non Response	58	7.7	46	6.1

Vicinity: N=757, Valid Cases = 699; Elsewhere: N=757, Valid Cases = 711.

Variable 45

Dance Hall	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	415	54.8	71	9.4
Unfavorably	129	17.0	44	5.8
Indifferently	68	9.0	208	27.5
Favorably	55	7.3	254	33.6
Very Favorably	28	3.7	139	18.4
Non Response	62	8.2	41	5.4

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases: 695; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 716.

Variable 46

Movie Theatre	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	300	39.6	37	4.9
Unfavorably	128	16.9	20	2.6
Indifferently	92	12.2	116	15.3
Favorably	111	14.7	274	36.2
Very Favorably	69	9.1	263	34.7
Non Response	57	7.5	47	6.2

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 700; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 710.

Variable 47

Major Shopping Center	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	290	38.3	27	3.6
Unfavorably	120	15.9	15	2.0
Indifferently	90	11.9	86	11.4
Favorably	113	14.9	253	33.4
Very Favorably	95	12.5	319	42.7
Non Response	49	6.5	57	7.5

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases = 708; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases = 700.

Variable 48

Children's Playground	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	103	13.6	25	3.3
Unfavorably	67	8.9	6	0.8
Indifferently	92	12.2	70	9.2
Favorably	193	25.5	211	27.9
Very Favorably	266	35.1	375	49.5
Non Response	36	4.8	70	9.2

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases: 721; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases: 687.

Variable 49

Comprehensive Health Clinic	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	119	15.7	22	2.9
Unfavorably	76	10.0	6	0.8
Indifferently	137	18.1	72	9.5
Favorably	219	28.9	209	27.6
Very Favorably	174	23.0	376	49.7
Non Response	32	4.2	72	9.5

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases: 725; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases: 685.

Variable 50

Park Area	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	83	11.0	25	3.3
Unfavorably	42	5.5	6	0.8
Indifferently	72	9.5	56	7.4
Favorably	196	25.9	184	24.3
Very Favorably	331	43.7	412	54.4
Non Response	33	4.4	74	9.8

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases: 724; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases: 683.

Variable 51

Full-Time Library	Vicinity		Elsewhere	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
	(percent)		(percent)	
Very Unfavorably	81	10.7	20	2.6
Unfavorably	62	8.2	8	1.1
Indifferently	118	15.6	59	7.8
Favorably	221	29.2	204	26.9
Very Favorably	241	31.8	392	51.8
Non Response	34	4.5	74	9.8

Vicinity: N = 757, Valid Cases: 723; Elsewhere: N = 757, Valid Cases: 683.

b) Variable 53

Growth Alternatives	Absol.	Rel.	Adj.	Cum.
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
	(percent)		(percent)	
1. Totally Residential	57	7.5	8.1	8.1
2. Largely Residential. Limited Non-Polluting Industry	466	61.6	66.4	74.5
3. Residential/Industrial. Unlimited Non-Polluting Industry	166	22.3	24.1	98.6
4. Residential/Industrial. Polluting & Non-Polluting Industry	10	1.3	1.4	100.0
Non Response	55	7.3	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 702.

c) Variable 57

Growth Preferences	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
An Unlimited Amount	58	7.7	7.8	7.8
A Moderate Amount	517	68.3	70.0	77.8
Very Little	130	17.2	17.6	95.4
None At All	34	4.5	4.6	100.0
Non Response	18	2.4	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 739.

d) Variable 58

Linked With Education	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Yes (would object)	449	59.3	60.1	60.1
No (would not object)	298	39.4	39.9	100.0
Non Response	10	1.3	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 747.

Section 3 Individual Concern for the Community

a) Variable 7

ERPC Awareness	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Yes (aware)	411	54.3	54.4	54.4
No (not aware)	344	45.4	45.6	100.0
Non Response	2	0.3	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 755.

b) Variable 8

ERPC Involvement	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Very Involved	16	2.1	2.1	2.1
Moderately Involved	47	6.2	6.2	8.3
Not Very Involved	97	12.8	12.8	21.2
Not Involved	596	78.7	78.8	100.0
Non Response	1	0.1	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 756.

c) Variable 9

Planned Growth Concern	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Very Concerned	322	42.5	42.9	42.9
Moderately Concerned	348	46.0	46.3	89.2
Not Very Concerned	57	7.5	7.6	96.8
Not Concerned	24	3.2	3.2	100.0
Non Response	6	0.8	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 751.

d) Variable 10

Opinion Influence	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Yes	418	55.2	56.1	56.1
No	327	43.2	43.9	100.0
Non Response	12	1.6	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 745.

Section 4 Involvement in Local Community Activities

a) Variable 5

Political Involvement	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Very Involved	25	3.3	3.3	3.3
Moderately Involved	78	10.3	10.3	13.6
Not Very Involved	227	30.0	30.0	43.6
Not Involved	427	56.4	56.4	100.0
Non Response	-	-	-	-

N = 757, Valid Cases: 757.

b) Variable 6

Political Interest	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Very Interested	227	30.0	30.0	30.0
Moderately Interested	427	56.4	56.4	86.4
Not Very Interested	78	10.3	10.3	96.7
Not Interested	25	3.3	3.3	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 757.

c) Variable 4

Community Involvement	Absol. Freq.	Rel. Freq.	Adj. Freq.	Cum. Freq.
		(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Extensive	72	9.5	9.5	9.5
Moderate	197	26.0	26.1	35.6
Only Occasional	216	28.5	28.6	64.2
Not At All	271	35.8	35.8	100.0
Non Response	1	0.1	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 756.

Section 5

Residential Satisfaction

a) Variable 59

Lifestyle Compatibility	Absol.	Rel.	Adj.	Cum.
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
	(percent)		(percent)	(percent)
Yes	667	88.1	88.9	88.9
No	83	11.0	11.1	100.0
Non Response	7	0.9	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 750.

b) Variable 60

Similar Social Class	Absol.	Rel.	Adj.	Cum.
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
	(percent)		(percent)	(percent)
Yes	692	91.4	93.8	93.8
No (lower class)	34	4.5	4.6	98.4
No (higher class)	12	1.6	1.6	100.0
Non Response	19	2.5	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 738.

c) Variable 61

Social Position	Absol.	Rel.	Adj.	Cum.
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.
	(percent)		(percent)	(percent)
Considerably Improved	92	12.2	12.4	12.4
Moderately Improved	178	23.5	24.0	36.3
No Change	395	52.2	53.2	89.5
Moderately Impaired	41	5.4	5.5	95.0
Considerably Impaired	2	0.3	0.3	95.3
Not Applicable	35	4.6	4.7	100.0
Non Response	14	1.8	-	100.0

N = 757, Valid Cases: 743.



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Urban Fringe Resident

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